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**RETRACTION FOR PLAGIARISM: ROBERTO OURO, “DIVINE
PRESENCE THEOLOGY VERSUS NAME THEOLOGY IN
DEUTERONOMY.”**

The editors of *Andrews University Seminary Studies* retract the following article by Roberto Ouro because of plagiarism: “Divine Presence Theology versus Name Theology in Deuteronomy” *AUSS* 52.1 (2014): 5–29.

This article is retracted because the author plagiarized substantial portions from another work, misrepresenting the argumentation of the article as original work. This retraction has no bearing on the validity of the sources from which the article draws.

COMMUNITY ARCHAEOLOGY AT TALL HISBAN

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Andrews University

Abstract

This article introduces community archaeology as an emerging perspective on the role and responsibility of archaeologists in relation to the communities where they do their fieldwork. It then offers examples of specific ways in which the leaders of the original Heshbon Expedition (1968–1996) paved the way for the pioneering work in community archaeology of the Tall Hisban Cultural Heritage Project (1996–present). It also includes highlights of community archaeology related activities during recent field seasons and concludes by describing current efforts to provide for ongoing maintenance and protection of the archaeological site in perpetuity.

Keywords: archaeology, anthropology, community archaeology, Tall Hisban, Heshbon Expedition

Community Archaeology

While the discipline of archaeology has been in existence for more than one hundred and fifty years, community archaeology is a relatively new way of approaching the work of archaeologists vis-à-vis the communities near the archaeological site. Although most archaeological projects rely, to varying extents, on collaborative arrangements of various sorts with the people who live nearby, North American and Australian archaeologists who worked with native or indigenous populations were among the first to explicitly give voice to and engage the local community as a key partner in helping to interpret and present the archaeological record of a particular local community.¹ Significantly, ethnoarchaeology—the ethnographic study of the material correlates of contemporary cultural practices—played a key role in crystallizing a vision and way forward for community or public archaeology in both of these regions.

Gemma Tully has noted and commented on signs that the field of community or public archaeology is maturing in terms of “general method and standards of practice.”² Well-known examples from the Near East

¹Ruth Kirk and Richard D. Daugherty, *Hunters of the Whale: An Adventure of Northwest Coast Archaeology* (New York: Morrow, 1974), 31; Colin Pardoe, “Sharing the Past: Aboriginal Influence on Archaeological Practice, A Case Study from New South Wales,” *Aboriginal History* 14 (1990): 208–223; Kenneth M. Ames, “The Place of Ozette in Northwest Coast Archaeology,” *Ozette Archaeological Project Research Reports* 101 (2005): 9–24; Yvonne Marshall, “What Is Community Archaeology?” *World Archaeology* 34 (2002): 212.

²Gemma Tully, “Community Archaeology: General Methods and Standards of Practice,” *Public Archaeology* 6 (2007): 155–187; Gabriel Moshenska, “Community Archaeology from Below: A Response to Tully,” *Public Archaeology* 7 (2008): 51–52.

region are the Community Archaeology Project Quseir in Egypt³ and the Çatalhöyük Research Project in Turkey.⁴ In Jordan, the Madaba Plains Project (MPP) at Tall Hisban⁵ has a five-decade-long history of engagement and collaboration with the local community. Lessons learned through the community archaeology initiatives led by Andrews University at Tall Hisban helped pave the way for the establishment of community archaeology in Jordan at places like Umm el Jamal⁶ (Bert de Vries) and the Temple of the Winged Lion Project in Petra (Maria Elena Ronza),⁷ where veterans of the Hisban campaigns led the way. Community archaeology has also become an important priority of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan—the government agency responsible for supervising archaeological projects in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. A recent grant from the United States Agency for International Development to the American Center for Oriental Research in Amman is notable for its mission-inspired name: Sustainable Cultural Heritage through Engagement of Local Communities Project (SCHEP).⁸

³Stephanie Moser et al., “Transforming Archaeology through Practice: Strategies for Collaborative Archaeology and the Community Archaeology Project at Quseir, Egypt,” *World Archaeology* 34 (2002): 220–248.

⁴Ian Hodder, “Archaeological Reflexivity and the ‘Local’ Voice,” *Anthropological Quarterly* 76 (2003): 55–69; Sonya Atalay, “We Don’t Talk about Çatalhöyük, We Live It’: Sustainable Archaeological Practice through Community-Based Participatory Research,” *World Archaeology* 42 (2010): 418–429; idem, *Community-Based Archaeology: Research with, by, and for Indigenous and Local Communities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 1–276.

⁵When the project originally began in 1968, the English name of the Tall Hisban site was spelled as “Hesban.” The Jordanian government later changed the English spelling to “Hisban.” The biblical spelling for Tall Hisban is “Heshbon,” which explains why the beginning project was called the “Heshbon Expedition.”

⁶Bert de Vries, “Archaeology and Community in Jordan and Greater Syria: Traditional Patterns and New Directions,” *NEA* 76 (2013): 132–141.

⁷Christopher A. Tuttle, “Preserving Petra Sustainably (One Step at a Time): The Temple of the Winged Lions Cultural Resource Management Initiative as a Step Forward,” *Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology & Heritage Studies* 1 (2013): 1–23.

⁸Maria Elena Ronza, “Building Awareness: The Challenge of Cultural Community Engagement in Petra—the Temple of the Winged Lions Cultural Resource Management Initiative,” *SHAJ* 12 (2016): 617–624. The SCHEP homepage explains as follows: “The SCHEP project is a four year project to engage and employ local people throughout Jordan and improve cultural heritage management skills in communities, the government, and the tourism sector” (American Center of Oriental Research (ACOR), “SCHEP,” <http://www.sustainablepreservation.org/schep/>). The project was inspired by the success of ACOR’s Temple of the Winged Lion Project in training and hiring local women to assist with archaeological reconstruction and research. The person who led out in the work with these women was Elena Maria Ronza, current co-director of the Hisban Cultural Heritage Project. It should be noted that Bert de Vries, along with other founding members of the MPP, worked on a detailed plan in 1976 for engaging local volunteers, such as local school teachers, who would be tasked with becoming guides, etc., which has finally come to fruition.

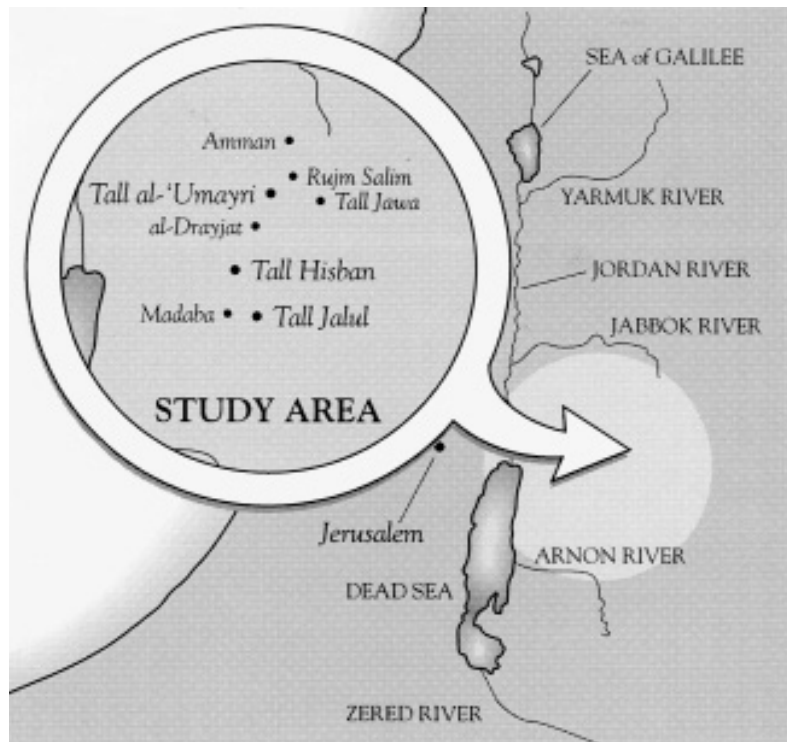


Figure 1. The Madaba Plains Project (1982–present) was a spin-off of the original Heshbon Expedition (1968–1976). The MPP consists of three closely coordinated but separate excavations at Tall Hisban, Tall Jalul, and Tall al-'Umayri. They also conduct surveys and satellite excavations in the hinterlands of each of these three major sites (Photo Credit: Hisban Photo Archive).

Community archaeology is thus a rapidly emerging, new type of archaeology that seeks to involve and engage the people living nearby particular archaeological sites in collaborative partnerships with local antiquities authorities and professional archaeologists in order to interpret, present, preserve, and protect such sites. It has come into its own as a sub-specialty in part as a result of the influence of the post-colonial critique of orientalist approaches to archaeology;⁹ the embrace of ethnoarchaeology as an integral part of archaeological practice;¹⁰ and increasing awareness of the

⁹Tully, "Community Archaeology," 155–187; Moshenska, "Community Archaeology from Below," 51–52.

¹⁰Marshall, "What Is Community Archaeology?" 211–219.

threats to architecture that is in situ and installations exposed by excavations to damage and destruction caused by environmental and human agencies.¹¹



Figure 2. Aerial Photo of Tall Hisban (Photo Credit: Hisban Photo Archive).

By nature, archaeology is a destructive undertaking, producing large and unsightly holes and trenches that are unsafe for local residents, especially children, even when the excavation has been carried out with great care. Excavations also expose architectural remains to the ravages of the elements, looters, and vandalism. What makes community archaeology especially urgent is the challenge of finding a sustainable way forward for caring for the large quantity of archaeological sites uncovered by archaeologists since the pioneering days of the profession. Community archaeology thus presents a timely solution to this problem because it harnesses the time and skills of those living closest to the site, training them as custodians and presenters of the archaeological heritage in their backyards. In many cases, becoming involved benefits local residents and businesses both economically and socially.

¹¹Gill Chitty and David Baker, eds., *Managing Historic Sites and Buildings: Reconciling Presentation and Preservation*, vol. 2 of *Issues in Heritage Management* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 41; Hamdan Taha, "The Current State of Archaeology in Palestine," *Present Pasts* 2 (2010): 16–25.



Figure 3. The first season of fieldwork at Tall Hisban was organized and led by Siegfried H. Horn (right) of Andrews University in Michigan, Roger Boraas (center) of Uppsala College in New Jersey, and Lawrence T. Geraty (left), then PhD candidate at Harvard University (Photo Credit: Hisban Photo Archive).

The Legacy of the Original Heshbon Expedition

During the seventies, the leaders of the original MPP¹² excavations at Tall Hisban—namely Siegfried H. Horn, Lawrence T. Geraty, and Roger S. Boraas—laid an important foundation for the community archaeology approach. Although the principle reason for choosing this site had been—as

¹²In 1984, a new initiative took shape under Geraty's leadership—in collaboration with Larry Herr, Øystein LaBianca, and later Randall Younker and Douglas Clark—called the Madaba Plains Project, which retroactively encompassed the Hisban project and simultaneously opened a new one at Tall al-'Umayri.

indicated by the project name, “Heshbon Expedition”—to find archaeological proof for the Israelite conquest and rebuilding of Heshbon (see for example Num 21:21–31), these leaders did not let this quest for a particular biblical past bias their approach toward digging what turned out to be a multi-layered, multi-millennial archaeological mound. Rather, they made careful, systematic excavation and rigorous separation of successive occupational layers their top priority, thus producing for the archaeology of Jordan a baseline not only for the study of the biblical (Iron Age) times, but also for the study of Greco-Roman times and the until-then largely ignored and neglected Islamic centuries.¹³ This focus on what is sometimes referred to by historians as *la longue durée*¹⁴ is one of the important legacies of the original Heshbon Expedition and was a key factor in the eventual crystallization of a community archaeology emphasis by the project.¹⁵

¹³See Roger S. Borass and Lawrence T. Geraty, “The Long Life of Tell Hesbân, Jordan,” *Arch* 32 (1979): 10–20; Siegfried H. Horn, *Heshbon in the Bible and Archaeology*, Occasional Papers of the Horn Archaeological Museum 2 (Berrien Springs, MI: The Siegfried H. Horn Archaeological Museum, 1982), 1–26; idem, “My Life in Archeology and the Early History of the Heshbon Archaeological Expedition,” in *Hesban after 25 Years*, ed. David Merling and Lawrence T. Geraty (Berrien Springs, MI: Institute of Archaeology, Siegfried Horn Archaeological Museum, 1994), 1–13; Roger S. Boraas, “Hesban and Field Method—How We Dug, and Why,” in *ibid.*, 15–23; and Lawrence T. Geraty, “Why We Dug at Tell Hesban,” in *ibid.*, 39–53.

¹⁴Fernand Braudel, *On History*, trans. Sarah Matthews (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 31–33.

¹⁵The Heshbon Expedition is also well known for having introduced to Syro-Palestinian archaeology the food system concept and the related notions of intensification and abatement to interpret and make sense of various lines of archaeological data from Tall Hisban (William G. Dever, “Syro-Palestinian Archaeology ‘Comes of Age’: The Inaugural Volume of the Hesban Series: A Review Article,” *BASOR* 290/291 [1993]: 127–30; Alexander H. Joffe, “New Archaeology,” in *OEANE*, 4:134–138; Piotr Bienkowski, review of *The Madaba Plains Project: Forty Years of Archaeological Research into Jordan’s Past*, ed. Douglas R. Clark, Larry G. Herr, Øystein S. LaBianca, and Randall W. Younker, *BASOR* 367 [2012]: 90–92). More recently, the notions of abatement and intensification have been adopted by researchers seeking a *longue durée* perspective on the history of the wider Mediterranean and Western Europe (Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* [Oxford: Blackwell, 2000], 545; Mark Whittow, “Decline and Fall? Studying Long-term Change in the East,” in *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology*, ed. Luke A. Lavan and William Bowden, vol. 1 of *Late Antique Archaeology* [Leiden: Brill, 2003], 404–423; Chris Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400–800* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005], 19, 451–458).



Figure 4. James Sauer, then a doctoral student at Harvard University, was the ceramics expert on the original Heshbon Expedition. His studies of the Islamic pottery corpus at Tall Hisban helped lay the foundations for Islamic archaeology in Jordan (Photo Credit: Hisban Photo Archive).



Figure 5. The 1968 Archaeological Team (Photo Credit: Hisban Photo Archive).

The original Heshbon Expedition also engaged the local community by hiring and befriending local workmen and their families. Workmen were hired from the very first field season, in 1968, with the express purpose of making sure that workman wages would benefit each of the five clans that made up the population of the then village of Hisban. Such was not ordinary practice among archaeologists at the time, but it proved to be a major advantage in generating goodwill toward the project. Many of these same workmen were able to learn and improve their English as a result of working on the expedition, which, in turn, expanded their employment opportunities in the government, business, and higher education sectors, both in Jordan and abroad. Some of the friendships that were formed between foreigners and local families nearly fifty years ago continue to the present.



Figure 6. Siegfried H. Horn and local elders distributing payroll to local workmen (Photo Credit: Hisban Photo Archive).

As was the case in Australia and North America (as mentioned earlier), the embrace of ethnoarchaeology by the original Heshbon Expedition played a key role in paving the way for community archaeology. Interviews were conducted in the local village, especially with women, which yielded a great deal of information and understanding about the daily lives and material culture of the local population.¹⁶ These activities led to the crystallization

¹⁶Øystein S. LaBianca, “Objectives, Procedures, and Findings of Ethnoarchaeological Research in the Vicinity of Hesban in Jordan,” *ADAJ* 28 (1984): 269–287; Øystein S. LaBianca et al., *Sedentarization and Nomadization: Food System Cycles at Hesban and Vicinity in Transjordan*, Hesban 1 (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1990), 1–30; idem, “Indigenous Hardiness Structures and State Formation in Jordan: Towards a History of Jordan’s Resident Arab Population” (paper presented at the Third Nordic Conference on Middle Eastern Studies: Ethnic Encounter and Culture Change, Joensuu, Finland, 19–22 June 1995), 143–157.

of the food systems research agenda, which made studying changes over the long-term in the lives of ordinary people a central objective of the project, as opposed to emphasizing only biblical connections or the history of the ruling elites—those who showed off their power by building monuments on the summit of the tell. By studying present-day practices for providing food, water, and security, hypotheses could be generated that aided interpretation of archaeological remains from particular periods in the past.¹⁷ Such hypotheses, in turn, could then be tested by means of comparative analysis of changes over time in, for example, the composition of bone fragments of domestic and wild animals and analysis of the carbonized remains of ancient cultivated plants from different layers.¹⁸ Insights gained from such an approach have also advanced our understanding of the influence of tribalism in shaping the royal ideologies and social relations of the Ammonites, Edomites, Israelites, and Moabites.¹⁹



Figure 7. Jim Sauer (left), Lawrence Geraty (center), and G. Ernest Wright (right), 1974 Season, Tall Hisban (Photo Credit: Hisban Photo Archive).

¹⁷LaBianca et al., *Sedentarization and Nomadization*, 107–134.

¹⁸Patricia Crawford, Øystein Sakala LaBianca, and Larry Lacelle, *Environmental Foundations: Studies of Climatological, Geological, Hydrological, and Phytological Conditions in Hesban and Vicinity*, Hesbon 2 (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1986), 123–146; Joachim Boessneck et al., *Faunal Remains: Taphonomical and Zooarchaeological Studies of the Animal Remains from Tell Hesban and Vicinity*, Hesbon 13 (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1995), 1–216.

¹⁹Øystein S. LaBianca and Randall W. Younker, “The Kingdoms of Ammon, Moab and Edom: The Archaeology of Society in Late Bronze,” in *In the Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*, ed. Thomas E. Levy (London: Equinox, 1995), 399–415; Øystein Sakala LaBianca, “Salient Features of Iron Age Tribal Kingdoms,” *Ancient Ammon* 17 (1999): 19.



Figure 8. His Majesty King Hussein (right) visited Tall Hisban in 1976 accompanied by King Constantine II of Greece (left) (Photo Credit: Hisban Photo Archive).



Figure 9. Ethnoarchaeology was introduced on the original Heshbon Expedition in 1973 as a means to learn more about the daily life practices of shepherds and farmers in Hisban (Photo Credit: Hisban Photo Archive).

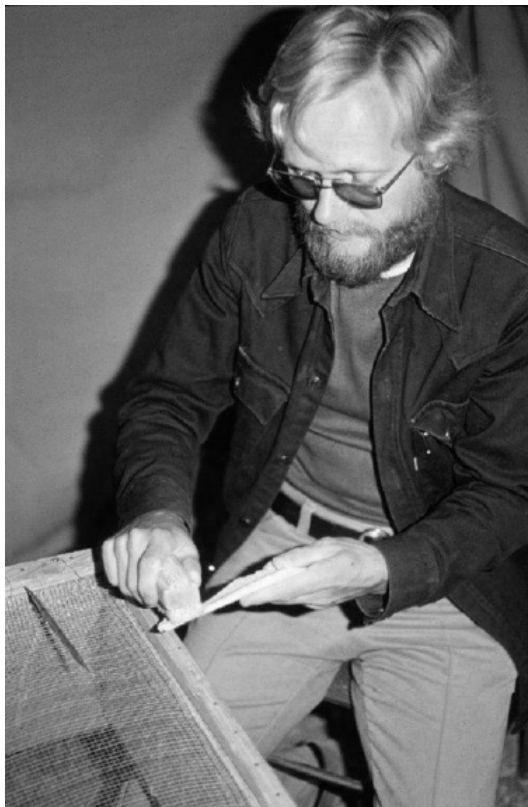


Figure 11. Øystein S. LaBianca, then a graduate student at Brandeis University, introduced zooarchaeology, the study of animal bones, to the Heshbon Expedition. This led to his interest in learning more about present-day agricultural practices and food ways in the village of Hisban (Photo Credit: Hisban Photo Archive).

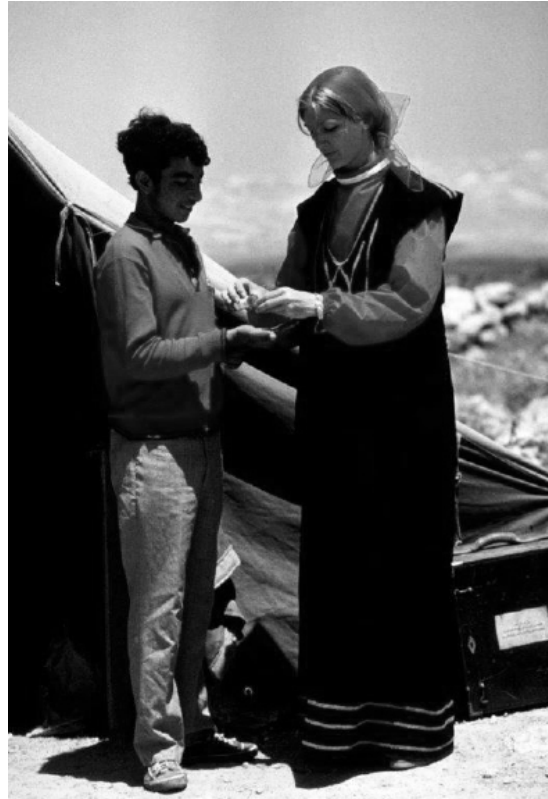


Figure 10. Shirley Finneman, nurse and ethnographer (Photo Credit: Hisban Photo Archive).

The Hisban Cultural Heritage Project

Following a hiatus of twenty years since the last campaign of the original Heshbon Expedition, a second phase of fieldwork was started at Tall Hisban in 1996 in which collaboration with the local community was an explicit objective.²⁰ To this end, the project was renamed the Hisban Cultural

²⁰Andrews University and the University of Bonn (Germany) are the primary sponsoring institutions of the Hisban Cultural Heritage Project. Their most recent field season was 15 May to 1 June 2016. Senior director, Øystein S. LaBianca (Andrews University), and, as of 2016, director of excavations, Bethany J. Walker (University of Bonn and Missouri State University), led a team of thirty-five students and staff, along with sixteen workmen from the village of Hisban. Abdullah Lababdeh and Husam Hijazeen were our representatives from the Department of Antiquities and Maria Elena Ronza (American Center for Oriental Research) served as our agent. Operating costs were budgeted at 36,388 JOD. Areas of the site examined in 2016 included Field B, the Iron Age reservoir and a Mamluk era structure built over the ruins of a Byzantine house; Field M, a narrow,

Heritage Project and among its goals were to foster active participation with local residents, businesses, and the local municipality in helping to make Tall Hisban into an archaeological park complete with a well-signed interpretive path, viewing platforms, and restored archaeological features representing different eras of history in the site.²¹ A local ironsmith made all signage and a local schoolteacher wrote the text in Arabic and English on each sign. Both continue to help maintain the signs.

As a means to organize and give voice to local stakeholders in the expedition, a local non-governmental organization, the Hisban Cultural Association, was established and registered with the government of Jordan in 2010. The association includes representatives from the various local families, the foreign expedition, the Department of Antiquities, and the local municipality. In addition to providing advice to the archaeological project leaders in planning for a visitor center and archaeological park in Hisban, the association also organizes heritage-focused celebrations and educational events in the local village.

Another important component of the community archaeology approach has been the Jordan Field School, which was also launched in 2010. This field school, led by faculty of Andrews University, allows various academic disciplines to collaborate in mounting a variety of community development related learning activities and research initiatives in connection with the digs at Hisban. Students and faculty representing various campus departments and disciplines—including agriculture, anthropology, archaeology, architecture, art and design, communication, international and community development, history, landscape design, and religion—participate as part of the team. All of these disciplines have contributed valuable knowledge and skills that have been essential to developing and implementing plans for an archaeological park and adjacent visitor center at Tall Hisban. Students, who perform much of the work, receive the largest benefits, earning hands-on experience working on projects related to their field of study. Both faculty and students also benefitted from being able to collaborate on planning and design workshops

barrel-vaulted chamber below the southeastern corner of the summit enclosure wall built during the Mamluk period; Field O, Abbasid and Mamluk domestic structures on the west slope of the site; Field P, a large late Byzantine-early Umayyad farmhouse that was reoccupied during the Mamluk and Ottoman periods. A hinterland survey was also undertaken, including the use of drones for aerial photography to create 3D modeling of structures and their interrelations and GIS mapping of Hisban's extensive subterranean features. Site presentation activities included a general cleaning of the site, developing and refreshing interpretive paths and signs, and repurposing the Welcome Garden as an area for community gatherings to celebrate their culture and heritage. The project organized two cultural events at this garden area during the 2016 season to celebrate Jordan's Independence Day and the 'Thawra. Members of the municipality and local families, along with project members, attended.

²¹In 2005, our project received a grant from the United States Department of State Ambassador Fund for Heritage Preservation that enabled significant improvements to be made to the site, including raising several columns in the Byzantine church, and the restoration and consolidation of several other key features in the summit. Maria Elena Ronza supervised this work.

with architecture students and faculties from the nearby German Jordanian University and from the University of Jordan.²²



Figure 12. The Hisban Cultural Association was registered with the government of Jordan as a local NGO in 2010. It has given voice to and opportunities for participation of local community members in planning for the future development of the archaeological park and a visitor center in Hisban.

²²This past season, for example, art students Yarleth Gomez and Cassnette-Jade Cooper (supervised by Stefanie Elkins-Bates) learned how to make artistic renderings of partially excavated buildings; archaeology students Jessica Bates, Peter Mazza, and Paul Roschman (mentored by Jeff Hudon and Robert Bates) experienced excavating and being part of an archaeological dig team; cultural anthropology students Chrystal Wedderburn and Elizabeth Bates (with supervision from the author) engaged in participant-observation ethnography; and international agriculture student Connor Smith collaborated with community and international development majors Anna Kim and Noël Harris to install experimental green roof gardens in two different Hisban schools (under the supervision of Kelsey Curnutt).



Figure 13. The Hisban Cultural Association has requested that the Jordan Field School offer instruction in English as a second language for local school children. The demand for this among girls from the village was particularly evident in 2016 (Photo Credit: Kelsey Curnutt).

Crystallizing a More Inclusive Narrative

The community archaeology emphasis of the Hisban Cultural Heritage Project has led not only to local participation in looking after and caring for the archaeological site and in planning for its future, it has also significantly impacted efforts to crystallize a more inclusive narrative of Tall Hisban's history. Building on the foundations laid by the original Heshbon Expedition for a more comprehensive history of Tall Hisban, a key objective of the renewed excavations has been to deepen understanding of the forces that have shaped cultural production at Hisban and its vicinity over the long-term. In other words, the aim has been to narrate the *longue durée* history of the site as a multi-millennial temporal whole—from prehistoric times to the present.²³

²³For an idea of the evolution of the research agenda of our work at Tall Hisban, see Øystein and Asta Sakala LaBianca, "The Anthropological Work," *AUSS* 13.2 (1975): 235–247; Øystein S. LaBianca, "The Village of Hesban: An Ethnographic Preliminary Report," *AUSS* 14.1 (1976): 189–200; idem, "Man, Animals, and Habitat at Hesban—An Integrated Overview," *AUSS* 16.1 (1978): 229–257; idem, "Objectives, Procedures, and Findings," 269–287; Lawrence T. Geraty and Øystein S. LaBianca, "The Local Environment and Human Food-Procuring Strategies in Jordan: The Case of Tell Hesban and its Surrounding Region," in *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan II*, ed. Adnan Hadidi (Amman: Department of Antiquities, 1985), 323–330; LaBianca et al., *Sedentarization and*

Thus, while the biblical connections of the site continue to be the story that attracts the most tourists to the site, the biblical story is today embedded in a much larger story—namely, a story about the comings and goings of empires and the remarkable ways in which the local host community adapted to and survived these successive waves of foreign peoples and rulers.

From the textual and archaeological evidence, we now know that over the past four millennia the site of Tall Hisban was home to a rural community that, in various ways, was influenced or ruled by a long succession of external powers, including the New Kingdom Egyptians; the Israelite monarchies of Solomon and David; Ammonites and Moabites; Assyrians; Neo-Babylonians; Greeks; Romans; Byzantines; Umayyads; Abbasids; Fatimids; Franks (Crusaders); Ayyubids; Mamluks; Ottomans; British; and most recently, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. These are what I have called elsewhere the “Great Traditions” that have interacted and partially shaped the lives and ways of the local population of Hisban over time.²⁴

As important—indeed even more important than the “Great Traditions”—are the “Little Traditions” that have enabled the local host communities to adapt and cope despite the comings and goings of external political powers.²⁵ Examples of these include their many clever ways of

Nomadization, 1–300; Øystein S. LaBianca, “The Journey from Heshbon to Hesban: An Account of the Evolution of the Heshbon Expedition’s Scope of Research,” in *Hesban after 25 Years*, ed. David Merling and Lawrence T. Geraty (Berrien Springs, MI: Institute of Archaeology, Siegfried Horn Archaeological Museum, 1994), 25–37; idem, “Everyday Life at Hesban Through the Centuries,” in *ibid.*, 197–209; Øystein S. LaBianca and Lawrence T. Geraty, “The Heshbon Expedition: Retrospects and Prospects,” in *ibid.*, 301–313; Øystein S. LaBianca, “On-Site Water Retention Strategies: Solutions from the Past for Dealing with Jordan’s Present Water Crisis,” in *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan V*, ed. Khairieh ‘Amr, Fawzi Zayadine, and Muna Zaghoul (Amman: Department of Antiquities, 1995), 771–776; idem, “Tells, Empires, and Civilizations: Investigating Historical Landscapes in the Ancient Near East,” *NEA* 69 (2006): 4–11; idem, “Thinking Globally and also Locally: Anthropology, History and Archaeology in the Study of Jordan’s Past,” in *Crossing Jordan: North American Contributions to the Archaeology of Jordan*, ed. Thomas E. Levy et al. (London: Equinox, 2007), 3–11; Øystein S. LaBianca and Bethany Walker, “Tall Hisban: Palimpsest of Great and Little Traditions of Transjordan and the Ancient Near East,” in *ibid.*, 111–120; Øystein S. LaBianca, “Great and Little Traditions: A Framework for Studying Cultural Interaction through the Ages in Jordan,” in *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan IX*, ed. Fawwaz al-Khraysheh (Amman: Department of Antiquities, 2007), 275–289; idem, “Tall Hisban: Palimpsest of Great and Little Traditions,” in *The Madaba Plains Project: Forty Years of Archaeological Research into Jordan’s Past*, ed. Douglas R. Clark et al. (Sheffield: Equinox, 2011), 9–27.

²⁴Idem, “Great and Little Traditions,” 275–289.

²⁵Øystein S. LaBianca and Kristen Witzel, “Nomads, Empires and Civilizations: Great and Little Traditions and the Historical Landscape of the Southern Levant,” in *On the Fringe of Society: Archaeological and Ethnoarchaeological Perspectives on Pastoral and Agricultural Societies*, ed. Benjamin A. Saidel and Eveline J. van der Steen, BAR International Series 1657 (London: Archaeopress Publishers of British Archaeological Reports, 2007), 63–84.

harvesting and storing rainwater; flexible combining of cereal production with the herding of sheep and goats; ability to live in various types of shelters, such as a stone house, cave, or tent; hospitality; self-policing through codes of honor and shame; and most importantly, perhaps, their reliance on a tribal form of social organization as a means to forming new families, protection, cooperation, control of resources, and prestige. By means of these “Little Traditions” the host communities of Hisban have survived for millennia, and they continue to resonate and be important in the local host community to this day.²⁶

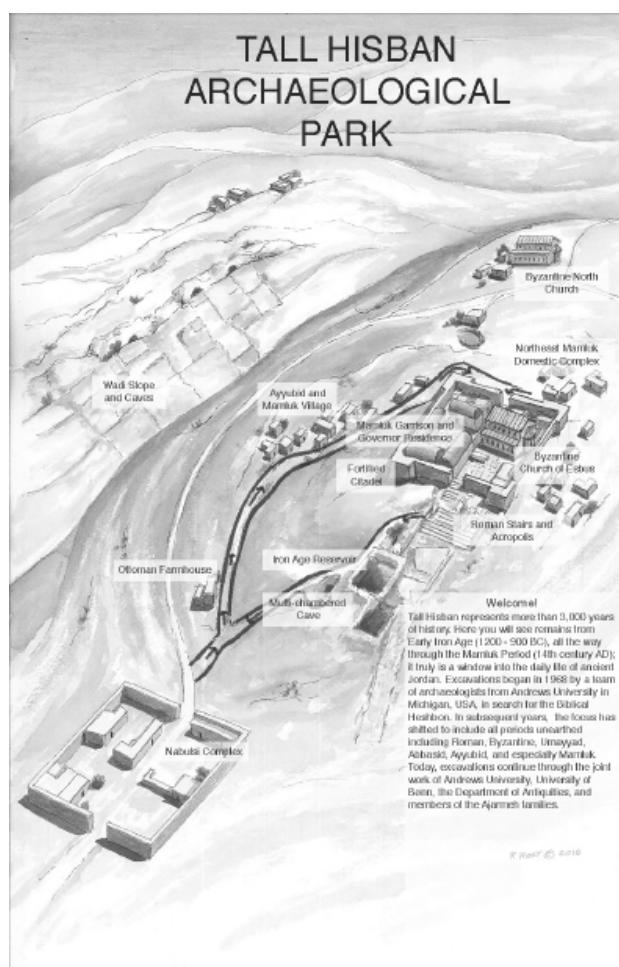


Figure 14. Rhonda Root, a professor of art at Andrews University, prepared this rendering of key archaeological features in Tall Hisban Archaeological Park.

²⁶See the detailed discussions of this anthropological concept in *ibid.*, 63–74.

When taking visitors through the site, two stories are told—the story of great empires marching through the region and the story of the daily life of the local population through the ages. Examples of imperial influences at the site include remains of a thriving market town from the time of the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians; large quantities of amphora jars containing tiny fish bones attesting strong local demand for *garum*—a fermented fish sauce condiment that was an essential flavor in ancient Greek and Roman cooking; the expertly shaped masonry foundations of a Roman public building—possibly a temple dedicated to the Sarapis Cult;²⁷ the apse, pillar foundations and partial sections of several mosaic floor panels of two Byzantine basilica churches; and the private residence and bath (hammam) of a Mamluk governor of this part of Jordan during the fourteenth century CE. And, as already mentioned, just as important are evidences of daily life through the ages attested in the large quantity of pots used for storing and preparing food; the thousands of skeletal fragments of sheep, goats, cattle, horses, mules, poultry, and even fish; and the use and re-use of domestic buildings, courtyards, water channels, and cisterns.²⁸



Figure 15. Enjoying Jordanian hospitality at the home of Abdallah Al-Mashale (2016).

²⁷I am grateful to Vivian Laughlin, a doctoral student here at the Institute of Archaeology, for her research that led to this suggestion.

²⁸In 2010, a video where these two stories are told was produced on location (see Øystein S. LaBianca, “Deep Time at Tall Hisban” [Stronger than Fiction Studios, 2010], YouTube video, 14:10, posted by “strongerthanfict,” 4 January 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u2kUMkjmRF8>).



Figure 16. 2016 Village Celebration of the partnership with the Madaba Plains Project.

This effort to elucidate cultural practices that have enabled the local population to survive and remain resilient in the face of millennia of external predation is well reflected in the fieldwork priorities of the renewed excavations. For example, over the past several field seasons our excavations have mostly been on the slopes below the summit, uncovering architectural remains that include several farmhouses. These dwellings of ordinary families and their animals give a picture of daily living during Byzantine, Islamic, and early modern times in Jordan. A reconstruction is underway for the floor plans of their homes and their manufacture and use of stone tools, pottery, and various everyday objects, such as spindle whorls, belt buckles, and jewelry. Indeed, this focus on the rural landscape in the hinterlands of imperial epicenters has made our current expedition a much sought after training ground for master's and doctoral students from around the world who are seeking to overcome the urban bias that predominates much historical writing about the social world of Late Antique and medieval/Islamic times in the Eastern Mediterranean. This training opportunity is available, in part, due to the partnership with the doctoral program in Islamic history and archaeology at the University of Bonn in Germany, which is headed by my colleague and, as of 2016, director of excavations, Bethany Walker.²⁹

²⁹Bethany J. Walker, "Militarization to Nomadization: The Middle and Late Islamic Period," *NEA* 62 (1999): 202–232; idem, "Mamluk Investment in Southern Bilād Al-Shām in the Eighth/Fourteenth Century: The Case of Hisbān," *JNES* 62 (2003): 241–261; LaBianca and Walker, "Great and Little Traditions," 111–120; Bethany J. Walker, *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages: Transformation of the Mamluk Frontier*, Chicago Studies on the Middle East 8 (Chicago: Center for Middle Eastern Studies, 2011), 1–338; idem, "Ottoman Archaeology: Localizing the Imperial,"

Planning for the Future

The 2016 field season of the Hisban Cultural Heritage Project was particularly important with regard to planning for future collaboration with the local community. Especially constructive in this regard were discussions with members of the Hisban Cultural Association about their hopes and aspirations for the Association. Their appreciation for our work and hopes for the future of our partnership and the archaeological site were also presented publically in a celebratory event organized in the site's welcome area by Association members. The Association also hosted a marvelous evening of poetry and story-telling centered on the archaeological mound and its meaning to the local community.³⁰ Perhaps most important of all was the discussion and agreement on a vision and strategic plan for future initiatives by the Hisban Cultural Heritage Project.³¹ The conversations also included a proposal for marking the fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of Andrews University-led archaeological campaigns at Tall Hisban during July of 2018.³²

in *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*, 5642–5653; idem, “Planned Villages and Rural Resilience on the Mamluk Frontier: A Preliminary Report on the 2013 Excavation Season at Tall Hisban,” in *History and Society during the Mamluk Period (1250–1517)*, ed. Stephan Conermann, Studies of the Annemarie Schimmel Research College I (Goettingen: V&R unipress, Bonn University Press, 2014), 157–192; Øystein S. LaBianca and Bethany J. Walker, “Tall Hisban,” in *Crossing Jordan: North American Contributions to the Archaeology of Jordan*, ed. Thomas E. Levy et al. (New York: Routledge, 2016), 111; Bethany J. Walker, “The Legacy of Tall Hisban,” in *The Madaba Plains Project: Forty Years of Archaeological Research into Jordan's Past*, ed. Douglas R. Clark et al. (New York: Routledge, 2016), 183–196.

³⁰The event was entirely a production of the Association, including funding for renting a tent, chairs, loud speakers, and recruitment of speakers and local entertainers.

³¹The following is an excerpt from this plan: “The goal of the Hisban Cultural Heritage Project is to incubate a heritage economy in the town of Hisban through engaging the local community as partners with the Department of Antiquities and Andrews University in caring for and attracting visitors to the Tall Hisban Archaeological Park. To this end, the project will develop capacity in the Hisban Cultural Association to become an active partner in managing activities related to protecting, preserving, and presenting the site to local residents, K–12 teachers, university students and professors, and tour guides representing various constituencies. Activities toward this goal will include (1) completing a site management plan in Arabic and English; (2) instituting an on-going program of upkeep and updating of interpretive paths and signage; (3) producing a Guide for Guides and a site map, both in Arabic and English; (4) producing a video in Arabic and English; (5) establishing a festival featuring the Mamluk story in Hisban in Arabic and English; (6) developing and implementing a training program for conservation which includes training in conservation of the Mamluk and Ottoman farmhouses; and (7) training of site stewards in social media and outreach activities.”

³²The 1968 campaign consisted of a team of about two-dozen faculty and students. It was organized and led by Siegfried H. Horn of Andrews University in Michigan and Roger Boraas of Uppsala College in New Jersey. Field supervisors for that first season included Dewey Beegle of Wesley Theological Seminary; Phyllis Bird, then at Harvard University and later professor at Garrett-Evangelical Theological

The Lawrence T. Geraty Community Archaeology Endowment, which is being established in collaboration with the American Schools of Oriental Research, is one aspect of the plan for funding the ongoing work of looking after and caring for the archaeological park at Tall Hisban.³³ Earnings from the endowment will fund community-initiated projects that develop local capacity to care for and present archaeological sites. In this way, present and future generations of local school children and residents, as well as the Jordanian public and foreign tourists, will be able to visit and enjoy the site in perpetuity.³⁴ The endowment will also serve as a model and demonstration of ways that archaeologists might partner with local communities for their mutual benefit.³⁵ The negative consequence of failing with this undertaking is that sites such as this that have provided so many valuable stories and insights from the past will be obliterated and lost to both the world of scholarship and to the world of heritage tourism on which so much of Jordan's economy

Seminary; Henry Thompson, then at New York Theological Seminary, later Professor at the Unification Theological Seminary; Bastiaan Van Elderen of Calvin College in Michigan; and Lawrence T. Geraty, then a doctoral student at Harvard University, who served as an Associate Field Supervisor.

³³The American Schools of Oriental Research (ASOR), founded in 1900 and currently located at Boston University, is the preeminent organization of archaeologists, historians, linguists, and cultural heritage professionals who initiate, encourage, and support research into, and public understanding of, the cultures and history of the Near East and wider Mediterranean. Its membership includes professional archaeologists, university professors, and graduate students, as well as individuals whose professional expertise lies elsewhere than in the Near Eastern and Mediterranean world, but who have a special interest in the cultures and peoples of this region. In addition to facilitating professional development of archaeologists, archaeological field work, and publishing, ASOR has recently become a major player in helping to protect the at-risk cultural heritage sites and landscape of the Near East and wider Mediterranean. ASOR thus has the professional expertise and experience to assure that best practices are followed in all lines of archaeological work in the region, not the least where community archaeology is concerned.

³⁴We are grateful to have Sela for Vocational Training and Protection of Cultural Heritage—a non-profit based in Jordan organized by a group of five members of the Temple of Winged Lions Cultural Resources Management Initiative in Petra—as our partner for the purposes of supervising site stewards and their activities. Its mission is to raise awareness and increase the sense of ownership towards cultural heritage and to create sustainable local capacities for the protection of cultural heritage. Sela provides hands-on vocational training in conservation and restoration and is specifically geared towards women and youth.

³⁵The Lawrence T. Geraty Community Archaeology Endowment will be distributed in small grants or awards as guided by ASOR's Investment and Spending Policies and will have as its initial focus community archaeology endeavors at the sites excavated by the MPP. Other sites in the immediate region and beyond will be able to apply for funding under the Endowment as the fund grows. As previously mentioned, the most important benefit of this Endowment is that it will provide archaeologists in the Near East and wider Mediterranean region and beyond with a template for community partnership.

depends. The Lawrence T. Geraty Community Archaeology Endowment is being established precisely as a means to mitigate such a future for the site.

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I owe a great debt of thanks to so many who have supported me over the years in advancing the vision of community archaeology in Hisban. First and foremost, I must acknowledge Eng. Maria Elena Ronza, co-director for community archaeology on our project; without her enthusiasm and commitment very little would have been accomplished over the past two decades. She led out in obtaining government approval for the Hisban Cultural Association as a new non-governmental organization; the planning for and execution of restoration work under a 2005 grant to our project from the US Department of State Ambassador Cultural Preservation Fund and in all subsequent restoration work at the site; and generally in facilitating the work of our Jordan Field School. I am also grateful to Dr. Prof. Bethany Walker, formerly chief archaeologist and now director of excavations, whose leadership of the scientific work and mentorship of doctoral and master's level students have been essential to accomplishing our goals each field season.

I also want to single out certain of our many colleagues and friends in Jordan who have contributed to our work, beginning with the following individuals from the village of Hisban: Yousef Aljoubour, retired army officer and site steward; Amer al-Awawdah, school teacher and site steward; Hamed Tawfiik Al-Awawdah, village elder; Yusef Al-Awawdah, former mayor of Hisban; Madeeha Al-Barrari, Municipality of Hisban; His Excellency Mr. Mustafa Al-Barrari, Friends of Hisban; Nihad Al-Barrari, translator; Saud Al-Barrari, Hisban Cultural Association; Mohammad Abdul Hafiz, school teacher; Abdallah Al-Mashale, Hisban Cultural Association; Hashem Al-Mashale, Radio Jordan; Shadi Al-Mashale, school teacher; Mansour A. Al-Sheehan, President of Hisban Cultural Association; Dr. Mohammed Safa Nabulsi, Nabulsi family spokesperson; Khaleel Dabbas, former mayor of Hisban; Khalef Al-Sheehan, former mayor of Hisban; Abu Noor, local host, chef, and docent extraordinaire.

Department of Antiquities (DoA) colleagues: Dr. Ghazi Bisheh, Dr. Fawwaz Al Khraysheh, and Prof. Dr. Ziad Al Saad, former Director-Generals of the DoA; Dr. Monther Dahash Jamhawi, current Director-General of the DoA; Dr. Adeeb I. Abu Shmais and Sabah Abu Hadaib of the Archaeological Office in Amman; Rula Qussous and Hanan Azar of the Office of Public Relations; Aktham Oweidi, Director of Excavation and Survey; Jihad Haroun, Technical Assistant for the Director General; Qutaiba Dasougi, Surveyor; Ali Al-Kahayyat and Basem Al-Mahamid of the Madaba District Office.

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WHY WAS JAN HUS BURNED AT THE STAKE DURING THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE?

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Abstract

This article examines the portions of the ecclesiastical-inquisitorial trial of the Czech priest Jan Hus which occurred during the Council of Constance in 1414 and 1415. The main question applied to the sources attempts to answer the concern around why Hus was condemned to death. The investigation looks carefully at the extant primary sources from the trial and its immediate aftermath. Since the Hus process was a heresy trial, the place and relevance of medieval canon law on that topic emerges as a central and foundational focus. The article identifies the charges against Hus which culminated at Constance, their context, and their relation to medieval law. The essay summarizes the relevant theological, political, and legal factors which led to the conclusion that issues of power and authority legalistically applied obligated the Latin Church to burn Jan Hus as a contumacious heretic. While morally objectionable and ethically arguable, traditional and prevailing legal mores justified and fully supported the outcome of the Hus trial which resulted in consigning the defendant to the stake. Put succinctly, from a strictly medieval legal point of view Jan Hus was punished appropriately.

Keywords: Jan Hus, Council of Constance, heresy, canon law

Introduction

In 1416, the Hussite priest, Jakoubek ze Stříbra, preached a sermon in the Bethlehem Chapel in Prague wherein he recounted the gripping scene of the last moments in the life of the chapel's former rector, the condemned heretic, Jan Hus.

Then he was handed over to the secular authorities who led him to the place of his execution and death. On the way he shouted that false and twisted testimonies were submitted and that no one should believe that he advocated any heretical article. When he arrived at the place of execution, he knelt down and prayed with a joyful heart and a bright countenance. Then they stripped him down to his shirtsleeves, chained and roped him to a stake and piled wood around him to such a height that barely his head was visible—I omit other details. When the strong flames blazed up, he stopped singing and praying. But his spirit, as we devoutly believe, reached with the flames to heaven, to the company of angels, just as Elijah did.¹

¹The text of the sermon appears in Jaroslav Goll, et al., eds., *Fontes rerum*

Jan Hus has been a controversial and contested figure for six hundred years, and a myriad of interpretations have been given about his thought, his significance, and his memory.² The specific question before us has been asked and answered many times. The Hus trial was political, in one sense a show trial, but an event deeply rooted in medieval European legal history.³ There are two main perspectives. The first comes from the definitive sentence read out in the *Münster unserer lieben Frau* (Cathedral of Our Dear Lady) in Constance on 6 July 1415:

[Jan Hus], a disciple not of Christ but rather of the heresiarch John Wyclif, with temerity dared to oppose [the Council and has taught things which are] . . . erroneous . . . scandalous . . . offensive . . . rash . . . seditious, and . . . notoriously heretical . . . the testimonies of trustworthy and numerous witnesses . . . [indicate that Hus] had taught many evil and dangerous heresies . . . during the course of many years . . . [which have] seduced the Christian people . . . Hus is obstinate and incorrigible . . . the Church of God has nothing more it can do with Jan Hus.⁴

The second point of view presents a stark rejoinder:

Master Jan Hus was wrongly burned. He was killed because he stood for the law of God against the pride, simony, fornication and other sins of the priests. He defended the truth and refused to yield until death. Therefore he was condemned to the fire as a heretic but through it God granted him the martyr's crown. Woe to those who are guilty of innocent blood . . . it is impossible to believe that a righteous church could condemn to death such an innocent man who defended God's truth. Like Susanna they brought false witnesses against him and numerous false articles seeking his death.⁵

bohemicarum, 8 vols. (Prague: Nákladem nadání Františka Palackého, 1873–1932), 8:231–243 (hereafter *FRB*).

²Three studies have emerged as a result of the sixcentenary of Hus's death: Thomas A. Fudge, "Quest of the Historical Hus," *The Hinge: International Theological Dialogue for the Moravian Church* 22.1 (2016): 3–22; idem, "Jan Hus in English Language Historiography, 1863–2013" *Journal of Moravian History* 16.2 (2016): 90–138; and idem, ed., *Jan Hus in History and Legacy, 1415–2015* (Washington, DC: Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences, 2015). See also the special issue of *Kosmas: Czechoslovak and Central European Journal* 28.2 (2015).

³Thomas A. Fudge, "Jan Hus in the Medieval Ecclesiastical Courts," in *Political Trials in Theory and History*, ed. Jens Meierhenrich and Devin O. Pendas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 113–133.

⁴*FRB*, 8:501–503.

⁵This was drawn from a Czech polemic written against the Council of Constance. Jakoubek ze Stříbra, "Zpráva, jak Sněm konstanský a svátosti večere Kristovy nařídil," Prague, National Library MS XI D 9, fols. 161r–170r. I first looked at this manuscript in 1991. It has subsequently been edited. See Mirek Čejka and Helena Krmíčková, eds., *Dvě staročeská utrakvistická díla Jakoubka ze Stříbra* (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2009), 91–108, especially 107. The allusion to Susanna refers to the additions to the book of Daniel in the Greek, but not the Hebrew manuscripts, which are included among Old Testament apocryphal writings.

In the fifth century, Augustine of Hippo said that “one should not assume heresies could be produced by little souls. No one except great men [and women] have been the authors of heresy.”⁶ Why was Jan Hus burned at the stake? Was he a “great” man? The short answer is that Hus was burned because he was a heretic. Medieval canon law subjected convicted heretics to capital punishment. Such punishment routinely was carried out by means of burning at the stake.⁷ During the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the term *animadversio debita* (literally “debt of hatred”), signifying “due penalty” turns up with some frequency with reference to punishing heretics. Another explanation is to attribute Hus’s demise to the historic animosity between Germans and Czechs.⁸ A third response puts Hus’s death down to judicial murder at the hands of unscrupulous churchmen who became drunk with power and corruption and turned bloodthirsty.⁹ These short and simplistic answers fail to account for the complexity of heresy accusations, inquisitorial legal procedure, and judicial punishment as represented in the latter Middle Ages. These are the more salient issues. To account for why Hus was burned at Constance requires delineating the main aspects of his life and thought which ecclesiastical authorities found objectionable and ultimately intolerable.

Theological Factors

So why was Jan Hus burned at the stake? Priests and theologians implicated in heresy, understood as *crimen mere ecclesiasticum* or an offense reserved for judgment by the church, generally means that considerations of theology were germane. From a theological point of view, there were six concerns in the Jan Hus affair which yielded drastic consequences for the Prague priest.

⁶Enarr. in “Ps. cxxiv, 5” in CCSL 40, ed. E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont (Turnhout: Brepols, 1956), 1839.

⁷Gregory IX (1231), X 5.7.13, *Excommunicamus*, in *Corpus iuris canonici*, 2 vols., ed. Emil Friedberg (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1879–1882), 2:787–789.

⁸For exploring the theme in context, see Alfred Thomas, “Czech-German relations as Reflected in Old Czech Literature,” in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, ed. Robert Bartlett and Angus Mackay (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), 199–215; Len Scales, *The Shaping of German Identity: Authority and Crisis, 1245–1414* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 394–419; and František Šmahel, *Idea národa v husitských Čechách* (Prague: Argo, 2000), 22–89.

⁹The following are among those who represent this position: Wilhelm Berger, *Johannes Hus und König Sigismund* (Augsburg: Butsch, 1871), 163–169; Gotthard Viktor Lechler, *Johannes Hus: Ein Lebensbild aus der Vorgeschichte der Reformation* (Halle: Verein für Reformationsgeschichte, 1889), 78; idem, *Jan Hus*, 2nd ed. (Pardubice: Hoblík, 1910), 77–78; Václav Flajšhans, *Mistr Jan řečený Hus z Husince* (Prague: Vílímek, 1901), 460–472; and in his forward to the edition of Hus’s works, *Spisy M., Jana Husi*, 6 vols. (Prague: Jaroslav Bursík, 1903), 2:vi; Jiří Spěváček, *Václav IV. 1361–1419 k předpokladům husitské revoluce* (Prague: Svoboda, 1986), 461; and Peter Hilsch, *Johannes Hus (um 1370–1415): Prediger Gottes und Ketzer* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1999), 281.

First, there was the matter of authority and Hus's insistence that mortal sins disqualified one from exercising legitimate authority.¹⁰ We find evidence of this perspective in Hus's thinking as early as 1409, when one of the parish priests in Prague formally accused Hus of sedition, arguing that he incited people against the priesthood and thereby challenged church authority.¹¹ Justifying his position, Hus promoted the idea that legitimate authority was predicated upon the worthiness of the incumbent. Prague priests filed complaints against Hus with Archbishop Zbyněk in August or September 1408. Jan Protiva, the priest of the parish Church of St. Clement's in Prague, followed suit around the middle of 1409. A year later (July 1410) Zbyněk took formal issue with Hus. This precipitated a virtual paper avalanche: hostile priests in Prague filed further accusations in the autumn of 1410; Michael de Causis brought charges either in March 1411 or March 1412 (there is some dispute about the date);¹² Hus's former colleague, Štěpán Pálež, did likewise on 10 July 1412; De Causis acted again in late 1412; Paris University chancellor, Jean Gerson, issued his own findings and recommendations on 24 September 1414; De Causis added to his earlier dossier late in 1414; at the same time the Council of Constance formalized concerns, Pálež likewise drew up an additional forty-two articles in December 1414; and before the Hus case concluded at Constance there were two final sets of charges issued on 8 June and 18 June 1415.¹³ This amalgam of concern was characterized by Jean Gerson as a result of Hus's "rash, seditious, offensive, pernicious and subversive" ideas. Supporters of Hus disagreed, arguing that loyalty to the truth of God led Hus to Constance and to the stake.¹⁴

Second, Hus's ecclesiology threatened the identity of the medieval church. Hus understood the church according to the predestined and not by its hierarchy of human manifestations of leadership associated with popes and bishops. Moreover, Hus did not consider the papacy essential. If popes were not vital, then the higher clergy might also be unnecessary and the true essence of the body of Christ could theoretically be located entirely separate

¹⁰František, Palacký, ed., *Documenta Mag. Joannis Hus vitam, doctrinam, causam in constantiensi concilio actam et controversias de religione in Bohemia annis 1403–1418 motas illustrantia* (Prague: Tempsky, 1869), 185–188, reflects the accusations advanced by Jean Gerson wherein no fewer than seven of the twenty articles underscore the seriousness of Hus's doctrine.

¹¹Ibid., 164–169.

¹²Ibid., 170–171.

¹³The various allegations, accusations, and formal charges can be found in *ibid.*, 153–155, 164–188, 194–234, 286–315, 448–450, 457–461. The single exception is the July 1410 articles by Zbyněk, which are referred to in *FRB*, 5:571, and Hus, "Knížky proti knězi kuchmistrovci," in *Magistri Iohannis Hus, Opera Omnia*, 27 vols., ed. František Ryšánek, et al. (Prague: Academia; Turnhout: Brepols, 1959–), 4:321 (hereafter *MIHO*).

¹⁴Jakoubek ze Stříbra, "Zpráva, jak Sněm konstanský a svátosti večere Kristovy nařídil," Prague, National Library MS XI D 9, fol. 163r; Čejka and Krmíčková, *Dvě staročeská utrakvistická*, 94.

from the administrative hierarchy of official Christendom.¹⁵ This created alarm. Hus's ecclesiology insisted that membership in the body of Christ was no more a legal right than a matter of choice, but instead was conditioned upon divine election. In the thought of Hus, the church was essentially a spiritual entity. Churchmen, theologians, and canon lawyers involved in the Hus case regarded the church as a legal corporation, represented by pope and council. An ideological collision was unavoidable.

Third, Hus was burned because he advanced a vigorous moral reform agenda and did not hesitate to condemn unworthy clerics.¹⁶ This attracted a great deal of violent opposition. It was a matter of record that Hus's reforms were supported by the archbishop and not considered troublesome until Hus targeted the priesthood.¹⁷ Once this occurred, there was a backlash, which persisted until Hus was sent to the stake. Hus spared no one and did not blunt his attack. He was later characterized as the "razor of vice."¹⁸ He sought to curb sexual license, concubinage, drunkenness, corruption, absenteeism, clerical irregularity, financial improprieties, greed, and the arbitrary uses of ecclesiastical power and authority. Essentially, the full gamut of the seven capital sins manifested in church and society came under Hus's withering reproach. Late in his stay at Constance, Hus denounced the city for its gross immorality, suggesting it would require a full thirty years to clean up the filth.¹⁹ Hus would have ruefully agreed with a tale published by the Italian humanist, Poggio Bracciolini, who reported that an English bishop told the story of a woman in Constance who submitted that her pregnancy was the work of the Council.²⁰

Fourth, he singled out the practice of simony for special criticism, going so far as to condemn simony as heresy.²¹ He was not the first to take this extraordinary step, as we find the term *simoniaca heresis* (the heresy of simony) in the work of Pope Gregory I.²² If Simon Magus, the notorious magician who

¹⁵See especially his treatise on the church (S. Harrison Thomson, ed., *Magistri Johannis Hus Tractatus De Ecclesia* [Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 1956], 119–130).

¹⁶The theme is found throughout the Hus corpus, but see especially his 1414 short treatise "Knížky proti knězi kuchmistroví," in *MIHO*, 4:312–323. There is an analysis of it in Thomas A. Fudge, *The Memory and Motivation of Jan Hus, Medieval Priest and Martyr* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 81–107.

¹⁷František Palacký, ed., *Starší letopisové čeští od r. 1378 do 1527* in *Scriptores rerum bohemicarum*, 3 vols. (Prague: J.S.P., 1829), 3:7. With references to the sources, see Thomas A. Fudge, *Jan Hus: Religious Reform and Social Revolution in Bohemia* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2010), 108–116.

¹⁸Barbatus, in *FRB*, 8:19.

¹⁹Letter of 26 June 1415 in Václav Novotný, ed., *M. Jana Husi Korespondence a dokumenty* (Prague: Nákladem komise pro vydávání pramenů náboženského hnutí českého, 1920), 318.

²⁰Poggio Bracciolini, "Facetiae," in *Opera omnia* (Strasbourg: Knobloch, 1513), fol. 160v.

²¹"O svatokupectví," in *MIHO*, 4:187–270, but see especially ch. 1, 4:192–194.

²²See the work of Jean Leclercq, "Simoniaca heresis" *Studi Gregoriani* 1 (1947):

appears in Acts, was regarded as the arch-heretic by early Christian authors who prostituted the church by attempting to corrupt the faith, then Hus continued to see the *simoniacs* (the followers and practitioners of Simon Magus's ideas) who persisted in the buying and selling of sacred things as a plague in the medieval church.²³ The business of selling God (often at a bargain price, to repeat the aggravation of Pope Gregory VII) persisted as a chronic disciplinary problem, which attracted the attention of Hus and other reform-minded medieval churchmen.²⁴ Technically, the church had condemned the practice of simony in the fifth century, but, in the eleventh century, it constituted a main source of ecclesiastical revenue, creating cognitive dissonance. Hus said simony was a form of leprosy and the worst sin.²⁵ There were wide divergences of opinion on the matter. For example, the twelfth-century canonist, Simon of Bisignano, thought that simony should be punished by death. Some of Hus's contemporaries, namely Jean Gerson, considered simony simply an error or oversight, hardly a capital offense. Fatefully, at Constance, Hus came face-to-face with representatives of the latter position characterized in some sources as an unhappy "gang of simoniacs."²⁶

Fifth, Hus was burned because he was a suspected follower of the Wyclifite heresy.²⁷ By the time of the Council of Constance, John Wyclif (†1384) had been repeatedly condemned, excommunicated, and identified by the church as an heresiarch; his teachings had been formally outlawed; and his books had been reduced to ashes in Prague and in Rome. The two heretics, Hus and Wyclif, were thought to share many common ideas. Though indefensible, Hus was consistently linked to Wyclif's eucharistic doctrine, which was considered among the more dangerous ideas facing the later medieval

523–530, with references to Gregory. Paul de Vooght, "La Simoniaca haeresis selon les auteurs scolastiques" *ETL* 30 (1954): 64–80, delineates the view that simony was not heresy. Dealing with later equations, see Winfried Trusen, "Rechtliche Grundlagen des Häresiebegriffs und des Ketzerverfahrens," in *Ketzerverfolgung im 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. Silvana Seidel Menchi, Hans R. Guggisberg, and Bernd Moeller, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 51 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992), 1–20.

²³In his famous treatise, "Against Heresies," Irenaeus asserted that Simon was the father of all heresies (see *Haer.*, 1.23.2; *Irenaei Lugdunensis Episcopi Adversus Haeresus Libri quinque*, ed. Ubaldo Mannucci [Rome: Ex officina typographica Forzani et Socii, 1907], 246–247). See also Alberto Ferreiro, *Simon Magus in Patristic, Medieval and Early Modern Traditions* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 9–26.

²⁴Gregory VII, "Letter to Bishop Hermann of Metz, 15 March 1081," in *Das Register des Gregorii VII*, 2 vols., ed. Erich Caspar (Berlin: Weidmann, 1955), 2:viii, 21, 544–563.

²⁵Hus used these descriptions in a letter to Johannes Hübner (early 1404). Novotný, *Korespondence a dokumenty*, 11–15. See especially 13 and 14.

²⁶Jakoubek ze Stříbra, "Zpráva, jak Sněm konstanský a svátosti večere Kristovy nařídil," Prague, National Library MS XI D 9, fols. 161r–170r at fol. 169v. Edition in Čejka and Krmíčková, *Dvě staročeská utrakvistická*, 107.

²⁷Though dated, overstated, and flawed, a case arguing for Hus as a follower of Wyclif is Johann Loserth, *Wiclif and Hus*, trans. M. J. Evans (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1884), 181–291.

church.²⁸ Wyclif believed that transubstantiation was based upon an “error about the makeup of spatiotemporal continua.”²⁹ In sum, Wyclif’s teaching of remanence denied the church’s doctrine of transubstantiation, which was the foundational medieval basis of the Eucharist. Since the twelfth century, the Eucharist had emerged as the central symbol of medieval Christianity. The ritual of the Mass enabled believers to enter the presence of God and allowed the faithful to partake literally of that presence. That conviction was a pillar of the medieval sacramental system. Wyclif was expelled from Oxford and lost the support of his principal patron not when he spoke negatively of the pope, but when he commented critically about the Eucharist. According to Henry Knighton, the Blackfriars Council (1382) in London made fidelity to eucharistic orthodoxy the main issue when dealing with suspected heretics.³⁰ Associating Hus with Wyclif on this matter transmuted the Prague priest from reformer to revolutionary. Jerome of Prague, one of Hus’s colleagues, also suffered condemnation and the stake during the Council of Constance on account of his Wyclifite orientation.³¹

Sixth was the issue of indulgences. The practice was thoroughly politicized in Prague by 1412.³² Properly understood, according to thirteenth-century doctrine, an indulgence was the granting either of complete or partial remission of temporal punishment for sins. These transgressions had already been forgiven, but still required appropriate penance (*poena*) in addition to absolution from the guilt (*culpa*) of sin, which could only be obtained by means of contrition and confession. Penitential acts might include pilgrimage, supporting a crusade, almsgiving, or contributing to the church. If the penitent died before completing the specified penance, then the remainder could be fulfilled in purgatory. The indulgence theoretically offered a means of avoiding purgatory. Indulgences drew on the treasury of merits accumulated by Christ and the saints. The power to grant an indulgence was the sole purview of the pope. Strictly speaking, the indulgence addressed only

²⁸*Iohannis Wyclif, De Eucharistia Tractatus Maior: Accedit Tractatus de Eucharistia et Poenitentia sive De Confessione*, ed. Johann Loserth (London: Wyclif Society, 1892), 1–326.

²⁹Stephen E. Lahey, *John Wyclif* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 103, 128–131, based on a reading of ch. 8 of Wyclif’s *De eucharistia*.

³⁰*Chronicon Henrici Knighton*, 2 vols., ed. Joseph Rawson Lumby (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 2:171.

³¹Thomas A. Fudge, *Jerome of Prague and the Foundations of the Hussite Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016); idem, *Hieronymus von Prag und der Beginn der hussitischen Bewegung* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2017).

³²“De indulgentiis, sive de cruciata papae Joannis XXIII” and “Contra Bullam Papae Joan. XXIII,” in *Historia et monumenta Ioannis Hus atque Hieronymi Pragensis, confessorum Christi*, 2 vols., ed. Matthias Flacius Illyricus (Nürnberg: Montanus & Neuberus, 1558; 2nd ed. 1715), 1:215–237. For the wider context in Bohemia, see Eva Doležalová, Jan Hrdina, František Šmahel, and Zdeněk Uhlíř, “The Reception and Criticism of Indulgences in the Late Medieval Czech Lands,” in *Promissory Notes on the Treasury of Merits: Indulgences in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. R. N. Swanson (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 101–145.

penance, not the forgiveness of sin.³³ Nevertheless, it was popularly understood that indulgences cancelled all of the implications and obligations from guilt and penalty (*a culpa et poena*). This misleading and inaccurate terminology eventually crept into canon law.³⁴ Hus took a strong stand against the abuses of the indulgence, attacked the economic incentives of the practice, and accused religious leaders of permitting the forgiveness of sins, broadly speaking, to be politicized and utilized for material gain. The indulgences controversy became particularly acute during the papal schism. Hus's unbending position became so unpopular that both kings and popes sought sanctions against him.³⁵

These theological controversies resulted in ecclesiastical penalties, precipitated a law suit, and eventually sent Hus into exile. Following these developments, more than six hundred years ago, Hus set out from Bohemia on a trip from which he would not return. He would never again see his native land. He was on a journey to the city of Constance, which proved to be a one-way trip. As a reformer, Hus was committed to seeing the church returned to an earlier state of purity. Reformers always face the perilous task of going against the grain of entrenched tradition, which may be stagnated or corrupted. After all, reform requires an existing condition. It seems prudent to pose the question: how corrupt were the times in which Hus lived? An Italian poet observed that "as man's shameful acts increase, the hatred of truth increases and the kingdom is given over to flattery and falsehood."³⁶ Implicit in the thought of the conciliarist and curial official Dietrich Niem and the canonist Hostiensis is the notion that ecclesiastical unity trumps other more individual concerns. "When the existence of the church is threatened, she is released from the commandments of morality. With unity as the goal, the use of every means is sanctified, even cunning, treachery, violence, prison, death. For all order is for the sake of the community and the individual must be sacrificed to the common good."³⁷ By the fifteenth century, the Western church was riven with conflict, the papal schism had seriously undermined ecclesiastical authority, and heresies appeared to threaten her stability. In the struggle

³³The doctrine of the treasury of merits was especially enumerated by Clement VI in a bull of 27 January 1343 that was later incorporated into canon law as Extrav. comm. 5.9.2 titled *Unigenitus Dei filius* (see Friedberg, *Corpus iuris canonici*, 2:1304–1306).

³⁴*Glossa Ordinaria* to Clem. 5.9.2, *Abusionibus*, in *Corpus juris canonici*, vol. 3 of *Liber Sextus, Constitutiones clementinae, Extravagantes Johannis XXIII, Extravagantes communes* (Romae: in aedibus Populi Romanae, 1582), 304–305.

³⁵On the subject, see Henry Charles Lea, *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church*, 3 vols. (New York: Greenwood, 1968, originally published in 1896), 3:68–71.

³⁶Petrarch, *Liber sine nomine*, mid-fourteenth century; Rebecca Lenoir, ed., *Pétrarque Sans titre: Liber sine nomine* (Grenoble: Jérôme Millon, 2003), 24.

³⁷The spirit of this sentiment has been attributed to Dietrich Niem in his 1411 treatise *De scismate libri tres* and in his 1410 book, *De modis uniendi ac reformandi ecclesiam in concilio universali*. The specific quotation is uncertain, but the idea is also generally reflected by the canon lawyer Hostiensis. I have had advice on this from Edward Peters and Thomas Izbicki.

to overcome challenge and division, while maintaining power and control, the medieval church had to contend also with political factors including corruption. Hus's attempts at reform were swept up into this bellicose vortex.

Political Factors

Why was Hus burned at the stake? Beyond the six foregoing theological reasons, the second major factor of Hus's death may be subsumed broadly as political factors. It may be too simplistic to argue that Hus was burned at Constance as a result of political machinations, but to ignore the less salutary elements in the corridors of power and the frailty of humanity in the kingdom of God would be remiss. Elsewhere I have identified political factors either as the firm commitment to a particular doctrine or a matter of faith or conversely to a form of corruption.³⁸ Both were apparent within the fifteenth-century Latin church. There was a definite commitment to the Nicene doctrine of "one, holy, catholic, and apostolic church" wherein all Christians were expected to maintain the unity of the faith and practice religion as directed by recognized ecclesiastical authorities. At the same time, the church was beset by less salutary considerations, including envy, jealousy, guilt, control, fear, malice, a desire for power, allegiance to tradition, and value rigidity. Some of these characteristics were unavoidably linked to various commitments to "truth." At times, it is possible to regard political corruption as quite separate from the insistence on a positive regard for church authority. "The theologian may indulge the pleasing task of describing Religion as she descended from Heaven, arrayed in her native purity. A melancholier duty is imposed on the historian. He must discover the inevitable mixture of error and corruption which she contracted in a long residence upon earth, among a weak and degenerate race of beings."³⁹ That melancholy duty comes to bear directly, poignantly, and tragically on the Hus matter which the Council of Constance took up in late 1414.

Hus was burned at Constance partly because he was little more than a pawn in the power struggles and larger political agendas of kings and popes. In the early days of the conciliar proceedings, Pope John XXIII and Emperor-elect Sigismund played crucial roles. Scholars of Hussitica traditionally have regarded the two negatively. "Sigismund was cruel and sensual, dishonest and vain, greedy and lecherous, loud and cowardly. . . . His companion John XXIII was lewd and murderous, faithless and a simoniac. He was a good friend to Sigismund in every wicked deed."⁴⁰ This assessment is clearly tendentious, but into the hands of these two men the Hus case passed in the autumn of 1414. Once in Constance, men such as Paris University

³⁸Thomas A. Fudge, "O Cursed Judas: Formal Heresy Accusations against Jan Hus," in *Religion, Power and Resistance from the Eleventh to the Sixteenth Centuries: Playing the Heresy Card*, ed. Thomas M. Izbicki, Karen Bollermann, and Cary J. Nederman (New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2014), 55–80.

³⁹Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 8 vols., ed., Betty Radice (London: The Folio Society, 1984), 2:93.

⁴⁰Václav Flajšhans, *Mistr Jan řečený Hus z Husince* (Prague: Vílímek, 1901), 248.

Chancellor, Jean Gerson, papal curia attorney, Michael de Causis, and Prague University master, Štěpán Pálež, played critical roles in the legal prosecution of Hus.⁴¹ Each of these men was personally ill-disposed to the defendant.

Theological controversy and politics thrust Hus into the perilous waters between Scylla and Charybdis, where he had to choose loyalty and obedience. Consecrated priest in 1401, Hus was thereafter granted the power to perform religious duties and liturgical actions restricted to the clerical order. During the ordination rite, the candidate was examined and undertook an oath. The examination required an oral statement that the ordinand had not previously been implicated in any of the four capital crimes of sodomy, bestiality, adultery, or in the violation of those in holy orders. The oath was a commitment of obedience and reverence to the bishop in question. When Hus took holy orders in 1401 at the hands of Olbram of Škvorec, Archbishop of Prague, he promised obedience to Olbram as his ordinary. When Olbram was replaced by Zbyněk Zajíc of Hazmburk, the oath of obedience naturally transferred from Olbram to Archbishop Zbyněk. Obedience was to the office, not the incumbent.

Ultimately, Hus could not and would not fulfil his ordination vow. In a sermon on 20 December 1410, Hus bluntly announced that he would no longer obey church authorities or his ordinary tersely by noting: “I will not listen to them.”⁴² For Hus, fidelity to the law of Christ took precedence over ecclesiastical obedience.⁴³ As conflict deepened, and criticism multiplied against his reform agenda, Hus ceased to obey the directives of the archbishop. This was initially a disciplinary issue, but it later evolved into a more serious dilemma for Hus and the medieval church. The matter of obedience was one of practical importance. An office manager, business supervisor, or construction foreman cannot effectively oversee a project unless those under his or her command obey directives and fulfill their obligations. A building or a wall cannot be constructed if the workers do not follow the blueprints and pay no attention to the instructions of the project manager. A church cannot operate as a cohesive unit if priests do not obey their superiors and insist upon doing what they think is best in a local setting without adequate consideration for the larger mission and broader objectives of the institution. Put simply, Hus reached a stage in his career as a priest where he no longer could be regarded as a team-player. He became increasingly deaf to the orders of the archbishop and ever more unwilling to bring his reform initiatives under the purview of his superiors.

In no fewer than thirteen cycles of accusation brought against Hus between 1408 and 1415, the common and recurrent theme of disobedience appears. Hus was denounced for taking no note of papal directives. His refusal

⁴¹On de Causis, see Fudge, *Memory and Motivation*, 109–133. On Pálež, see Jiří Kejř, *Z počátků české reformace* (Brno: L. Marek, 2006), 111–131 (in English as “Master Štěpán of Pálež and Hus’s Trial,” *Kosmas: Czechoslovak and Central European Journal* 28.2 [2015]: 87–109).

⁴²Václav Flajšhans, ed., *Mag. Io. Hus Sermones in Capella Bethlehem, 1410–1411*, 6 vols. (Prague: České společnosti nauk, 1938–1945), 2:102.

⁴³“O šesti bludiech,” in *MIHO*, 4:279–282.

to fulfil his oath was so egregious that he was excommunicated for contumacy. Other ecclesiastical authorities took the step of formally censuring Hus for declining to appear when summoned to a hearing. Hus effectively ignored the citation, and refused to submit either specifically to his archbishop or generally to church authority. It is of note that Hus was excommunicated by Cardinal Peter degli Stephaneschi in 1412 on account of gross disobedience.⁴⁴ Two hundred years earlier, according to Pope Innocent III, in such cases, disobedience was criminal.⁴⁵ Eventually, even Hus admitted he was recalcitrant.⁴⁶ On the day Hus went to the stake, the Bishop of Lodi preached in the Constance cathedral arguing that the disobedient had to be destroyed and “especially this stubborn heretic who is here present.”⁴⁷ It cannot be maintained that Hus was being singled out. After all, the same council which condemned him also censured, deposed, and imprisoned Pope John XXIII.

The fate of Hus must also be linked to his decision to dissent. The founder of Christianity said that in his Father’s house were many rooms. Curiously, his disciples have insisted all Christians should live in the same one.⁴⁸ Hus appears to have taken up domicile in a seldom-used room in the house of God. This initially caused suspicion. When Hus persisted in remaining apart from the majority of the Christian community, this led to consternation and eventually to outrage. According to medieval Latin canon law, heresy was legally defined as holding views chosen by human perception, judged contrary to Scripture, publicly declared, and stubbornly defended.⁴⁹ In practical terms, heresy might be thought of as a house consisting of at least nine rooms. Each room represents a different manifestation of heresy, each one reflecting the elements of the canonical definition and each presenting considerable worry to the church. In the house of heresy we find intellectual deviants, would-be reformers, those who stubbornly disobey, challengers of social order, perpetrators of civil disorder, madmen, carriers of disease, perverts, and servants of Satan.⁵⁰ As we have seen, well before the Council of Constance convened, the idea of heresy in the Latin West encompassed doctrine and

⁴⁴Palacký, *Documenta*, 461–464.

⁴⁵Innocent III (1199), X 5.7.10, *Vergentis in senium*, in Friedberg, *Corpus iuris canonici*, 2:782–783.

⁴⁶This in a letter from the spring of 1411 addressed to Jan Barbatus and the people in the town of Krumlov. Novotný, *Korespondence a dokumenty*, 89–92, especially 90. See also Hus’s understanding of the “other sheep” in the sense of heresy in Thomas A. Fudge, *Jan Hus Between Time and Eternity: Reconsidering a Medieval Heretic* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2016), 141–163.

⁴⁷The text of the sermon by the Dominican, Giacomo Balardi Arrigoni, appears in *FRB*, 8:489–493. The comment appears on 493. For analysis, see Fudge, *Time and Eternity*, 99–116.

⁴⁸Robert I. Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent* (London: Penguin, 1977), 1.

⁴⁹C.24 q.3, cc. 27–31, in Friedberg, *Corpus iuris canonici*, 1:997–998.

⁵⁰This idea of heresy appears in Thomas A. Fudge, *The Trial of Jan Hus: Medieval Heresy and Criminal Procedure* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 31–72.

behavior. This broadened the scope of heresy so that anyone, theoretically, on less than good terms with ecclesiastical authority, might be denounced as heretical. Medieval heresy was neither accidental nor incidental. The ante-Nicene church father, Origen, said the foundations of heresy were consistently found in issues where the principle involved was important and beneficial to human life.⁵¹ Constance reflected the nature of ecclesiastical politics, which increasingly shaped Christianity from the Nicene period through the Middle Ages. The political inheritance of Nicaea created, marginalized, and often destroyed heretics. Hus's refusal to recant or submit to the authority of the Council could be, and was, judged contumacious. That finding was not improper. Part of the tragedy at Constance is that Hus insisted on dying.

Legal Factors

After theological controversy, political pressures, the struggle to align conscience and obedience, and the perils of heresy, the case of Hus became a legal process; a formal court matter. It is important to understand that the trial was not a forum in which matters of truth and justice would be discussed, debated, or even that such considerations would prevail. The court was convened to determine if Hus was a heretic. Inasmuch as heresy was a crime, the Hus trial qualified as a special type of criminal proceeding. Indeed, heresy was considered an exceptional crime.⁵² The canonical Constitution *Saepe contingit* drew attention to the fact that matters ought to proceed "simply and plainly, without clamor and the normal forms of procedure," which does not suggest the suspension of due process and the invoking of summary justice.⁵³ There are a number of papal decretals that deal with summary criminal procedure. For example, Boniface VIII's constitution *Statuta* and Innocent III's *Veniens*, can be read to mean that Boniface suggested that advocates could be barred from the courtroom (*advocatorum strepitu*), while Innocent permitted the absence of advocates in criminal cases (i.e., heresy trials).⁵⁴ By the latter stages of the Council of Constance, Pope Martin V had declared that criminal heretics had no right to legal representation.⁵⁵ However, it would be specious to argue that heresy trials could simply avoid adhering to proper procedure. Importantly, *Saepe contingit* also points out that "the judge

⁵¹*Origenes Contra Celsum: Libri VIII*, ed. Miloslav Marcovich (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 3.12–13.

⁵²Edward M. Peters, "Crimen exceptum: The History of an Idea," in *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress on Medieval Canon Law*, ed. Kenneth Pennington, Stanley Chodorow, and Keith H. Kendall (Vatican City: Bibliotheca apostolica vaticana, 2001), 137–194.

⁵³Clem. V, 5.11.2, *Saepe contingit*, in Friedberg, *Corpus iuris canonici*, 2:1143.

⁵⁴Sext., 5.2.20, *Statuta quaedam*, in Friedberg, *Corpus iuris canonici*, 2:1078; X 5.1.15, *Veniens*, in Friedberg, *Corpus iuris canonici*, 2:737.

⁵⁵Inter cunctas, 1418, in Giovanni Domenico Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum conciliorum nova, et amplissima collectio . . .*, 53 vols. (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1960), 27:1213.

should not abbreviate the *litis* so as to eliminate admitting necessary proofs and a legitimate defense.⁵⁶ In sum, medieval jurists never argued that key elements of due process could be entirely omitted in summary procedure, even when matters had escalated to considerations of exceptional crime.⁵⁷ Allegations that the Hus trial contravened due process, was in consequence illegal, and therefore resulted in judicial murder, must fulfil the burden of the legal obligation *affirmanti non neganti incumbit probatio*, which insists that the burden of proof is on the one who affirms, not on the one who denies.

If the court convened at Constance to hear the Hus case was not centrally concerned with truth or justice, what was the motivation? It seems that issues of power, authority, and order predominated.⁵⁸ The involvement of secular rulers like emperor-elect Sigismund was both normal and expected. There was, in fact, a great deal of pressure on both secular and ecclesiastical authorities to deal decisively with heresy. As part of his or her religious obligations, the secular prince was obliged to act against heretics. Twelfth-century Italian jurists are representative of a formal body of opinion. For example, Irnerius believed that every heretic should automatically be considered *infamia* (infamous). Rolandus opined that the punishment of heretics was less a matter of vengeance than a pastoral “correction of love” (*amor correctionis*), while Huguccio characterized heretics as thieves and robbers who plundered the church and, in effect, stole from God. In consequence, princes who refused to intervene or who were negligent in fulfilling their duty in this respect were liable to incur punishment themselves. Certainly, less salutary matters intruded, but heresy was not simply a religious or theological matter.⁵⁹

As a medieval legal proceeding, the advocates representing the interests of the church dealt with evidence, legal argument, and procedural matters in quite specific ways. Did they manipulate the law? Lawyers serve their clients and do all in their power and within the limits of the law to represent their clients to the best of their ability, and they also seek to interpret and apply the law in the best interests of the client. All too often, the process is rather messy, especially when fervent religious beliefs are involved.

On 18 October 1412, Hus appealed to Jesus Christ. The strategy was quite unprecedented.⁶⁰ By taking this step, Hus was explicitly arguing that all human authority was subservient to Christ and the court of highest appeal lay not

⁵⁶Clem. V, 5.11.2, *Saepe contigit*, in Friedberg, *Corpus iuris canonici*, 2:1200.

⁵⁷Charles Lefebvre, “Les origines romaines de la procedure sommaire aux XII et XIII siecles,” *Ephemerides Iuris Canonici*, new series 12 (1956): 149–197.

⁵⁸Fudge, *Trial* and Jiří Kejř, *Husův proces* (Prague: Vyšehrad, 2000), cover the full scope of the legal process.

⁵⁹C.23 q.5 p.c. 25, *Preterea*, in Friedberg, *Corpus iuris canonici*, 1:938; Henri Maisonneuve, *Études sur les origines de l'inquisition*, 2nd ed. (Paris: J. Vrin, 1960), 62–63, 73–84.

⁶⁰The appeal has been the subject of several analyses with the most recent being Fudge, *Trial*, 188–214; Kejř, *Husovo odvolání od soudu papežova k soudu Kristovu* (Prague: Albis International, 1999).

within medieval canon law as codified in the Latin Church, but within the law of Christ. This strange appellate posture (the appeal to Christ) constituted a fateful moment for Hus. It implied an ultimate rejection of canon law and ecclesiastical authority, including both papal and conciliar. That implication was not lost on the members of the Council of Constance. It marked Hus as a subversive.

Was it a spontaneous, impulsive act, or had Hus contemplated this step all along as a contingency plan? Can his appeal be put down to an emotive display of bitterness and a sense of injustice? It does not seem likely that Hus set out with a strategy of ultimately appealing to a spiritual authority higher than the available ecclesiastical legal channels. From a canonical point of view, Jesus Christ was a non-existing judicial authority. In terms of law, Hus relied less on technical legal argument and more on the morally binding nature of law.⁶¹ Often medieval canon law contained moral or ethical comment. Such glosses were always regarded as secondary. Hus represented a different emphasis in his reliance on the theological or moral authority sometimes in opposition to the legal thrust. Hus actively privileged the *lex Christi* principle over the written legal code.⁶² This caused some consternation when it became clear that Hus considered human law, both secular and ecclesiastical, to be temporary, while the law of God was eternal. The church developed and interpreted canon law. The medieval church considered itself the guardian of truth. It was not prepared to allow Hus to serve as the arbiter of divine law. From an ecclesiastical point of view, it seemed evident that Hus had no desire to remain loyal to his vows of obedience. Moreover, he regarded the church as corrupt and appeared to assume that he alone understood divine truth and the will of God. That realization was appalling to his colleagues and abhorrent to the prelates. It caused Hus to become a late medieval Joseph, whose prognostications once more caused his brothers to hate him, conspire against him, and ultimately sell him out to strangers, which resulted in exile (Gen 37).

All of this goes some distance to clarify that Hus's appeal to God amounted to a repudiation of ecclesiastical authority. That being so, it raises the question of why had Hus come to Constance in the first instance if he steadfastly would not consider the authority of the Council? The answer lies in a fundamental error Hus made. He appeared to have had no realistic idea of what he faced at the Council. Indeed, he prepared a sermon—*De pace*—which he expected to preach to the delegates.⁶³ The assumption that he would be permitted to deliver a homily to the Council is without any foundation. Clearly, Hus did not appreciate that he was voluntarily going to Constance as an accused heresiarch where he would stand

⁶¹Jiří Kejř, "Jan Hus jako právní myslitel," in *Jan Hus mezi epochami, národy a konfesemi*, ed. Jan B. Lášek (Prague: Česká křesťanská akademie: Husitská teologická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy, 1995), 197–207.

⁶²Among his dossier compiled for the Council of Constance we find an essay that argues for the sufficiency of the law of Christ (*De sufficientia legis Christi*, in *Historia et monumenta*, 1:55–60).

⁶³The best edition appears in František M. Dobiáš and Amedeo Molnár, eds., *Sermo de pace – Řeč o míru* (Prague: Česká křesťanská akademie, 1995), 34–78.

trial on allegations of heresy and disobedience. These were grave charges. The hearing before the sage men of Christendom was a court trial; indeed, it was a continuation of a formal legal process, which had begun in June 1410. Hus seemed to have thought his appearance before the Council might be the equivalent of an academic debate.

Conclusion

Which came first, politics or theology? In the case of Hus, there is compelling evidence to suggest that political factors exerted considerable force on the work of Hus, to the extent that theology became the mechanism for repression and ultimately condemnation. When admonished and reminded of his oath of obedience, Hus resisted and that resistance resulted in disobedience. Stubborn, continued disobedience is among the most important factors in establishing and sustaining suspicion of heresy. Persistent disobedience was considered contumacy, and contumacy was heresy.⁶⁴ It would be difficult to overstate the role that contumacy played in matters of faith (*contumax in causa fidei*) during medieval heresy trials.⁶⁵ Once suspicion of heresy became formal accusation, prevailing factors of law, including inquisitorial procedure, took over and, in the absence of recantation, conviction and punishment became inevitable. In the medieval period, the consequences included the stake.⁶⁶

Why was Hus burned at the stake? Hus was burned because adverse political factors magnified points of theology until they were deemed incompatible with the broad thrust of the medieval church. When admonished, Hus refused to heed the counsel of ecclesiastical authority. Disobedience led him onto the dangerous ground of contumacy. Persistent continuation in that stance evolved into suspicion of heresy. Once that suspicion developed into formal accusations, the matter escalated naturally into a legal procedure resulting in a court trial in which the verdict *stare decisis*—based on precedent—was entirely predictable. Hus was also burned as a result of the courage of conviction which would not allow him to retreat from the principles he believed were correct, righteous, true, and firmly rooted in the law of God. Hus drew a distinction between Christianity and Christendom. Christianity is Christ. Christendom is the structure which has been built around Christ.

⁶⁴X 5.37.13, *Graven dilectorum*, in Friedberg, *Corpus iuris canonici*, 2:884. See also the discussion in Howard Kaminsky, “The Problematics of Later Medieval ‘Heresy,’” in *Husitství, Reformace, Renesance: Sborník k 60. narozeninám Františka Šmahela*, 3 vols., ed. Jaroslav Pánek (Prague: Historický ústav, 1994), 1:133–154. A response and rebuttal to Kaminsky is found in Thomas A. Fudge, “Obrana ‘Kacířství’: teoretické pojednání” *Mediaevalia Historica Bohemica* 9 (2003): 295–314 (this was revised in English as idem, “Defending ‘Heresy’: A Theoretical Elaboration,” in Thomas A. Fudge, *Heresy and Hussites in Late Medieval Europe* [Farnham: Ashgate, 2014], 1:1–22).

⁶⁵Bernard Gui, *Practica inquisitionis heretice pravitatis*, ed. Célestin Douais (Paris: Picard, 1886), 285.

⁶⁶G. G. Coulton, *The Death Penalty for Heresy* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., 1924), 1–30.

Hus preferred the former over the latter. The medieval church was committed to the traditionalism of its history, its authority, and its conviction of an apostolic mandate. Hus was resolutely committed to the tradition of Christ.⁶⁷ What were the differences? One might say that traditionalism is the dead faith of the living, while tradition is the living faith of the dead.⁶⁸ Such conclusion was offensive to the guardians of medieval Christendom, who saw their role as preserving the faith once delivered to the saints and to protecting the ancient landmarks against improper relocation. In this sense, the medieval church was comprised mainly of settlers. Hus was not interested in once again laying down the foundations of what had already been established. He desired to build on those foundations and participate in the continuous reformation of the church. In this sense, he was a pilgrim.

Pilgrims and settlers, by definition, cannot dwell together. In his last sermon, never preached, Hus was prepared to tell the Council of Constance that they had failed to serve God. The priests (whom he somewhat facetiously called “shepherds”) initially did put on the person of Jesus Christ, but thereafter failed to live up to their obligations to preach the word of God. They lived in a manner inconsistent with the gospel and committed acts of enormous evil. As a result, they were transfigured by Antichrist and Satan into angels of light. But that light was not life. These faithless clerics were denounced by Hus as thieves and robbers. Abandoning their duty to tend the flocks, these wicked shepherds became killers of the sheep. Such traitors transformed God’s house of prayer into a den of thieves.⁶⁹ The rhetoric betrays utter incompatibility between the priest, Hus, and his church. Believing there was no lasting city in the late medieval world, Hus encouraged others to join him in seeking for the eternal city that was still to come, whose builder and maker was neither popes nor bishops, but God. That pilgrimage, that pursuit of the living faith of the dead, took Hus from his pulpit at Bethlehem Chapel in Prague to an international stage; from southern Bohemia to the Council of Constance, and thereafter, inevitably and unavoidably, to the stake.

⁶⁷I have explored these principles in some detail in Thomas A. Fudge, “Hus *redivivus*: How to be a ‘Hussite’ after 600 Years,” *The Hinge: International Theological Dialogue for the Moravian Church* 22:1 (2016): 23–42.

⁶⁸Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Vindication of Tradition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 81–82.

⁶⁹Dobiáš and Molnár, *Sermo de pace*, 76–78.

A COMPARATIVE DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY'S STATEMENT "ON THE UNIQUE HEADSHIP OF CHRIST IN THE CHURCH" AND THE RESPONSE STATEMENT, "AN OPEN APPEAL"

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Abstract

This article comparatively analyzes two written statements on women's ordination that were issued in 2014 by two groups of Seventh-day Adventist scholars who represent opposing views. Taking the approach of Critical Discourse Analysis, the study focuses on intertextual and interdiscursive relationships and the use of language. By analyzing formal and linguistic aspects of the texts, it seeks to identify contrasting ideologies and discursive strategies manifested in the texts. The analysis shows that both texts include heavy references to the Bible and Ellen G. White's writings, but the two groups' different understandings of the Trinity leave no room for negotiation. Further, a lack of consensus on the definition of "headship" and "leadership" keeps the groups from effectively engaging in the debate. The article argues that if the church wishes to move the discussion forward, it is important to come to a consensus on its definition of pastoral leadership and its view of the Trinity.

Keywords: women's ordination, critical discourse analysis, interdisciplinary studies on religion

Introduction

Currently, one of the most divisive issues within the Seventh-day Adventist Church is women's ordination. Numerous Seventh-day Adventist theologians on both sides of the debate have presented impassioned arguments to address critics and bring harmony,¹ and yet division within the church seems to intensify, as both leaders and lay members of the church sense an impending crisis ahead in the current milieu of the denomination.² These developments

¹John W. Reeve, ed., *Women and Ordination: Biblical and Historical Studies* (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2015), offers a collection of essays written by Seventh-day Adventist theologians supporting an egalitarian view. A website maintained by Seventh-day Adventist pastors includes a plethora of resources promoting a complementarian view (see Council of Adventist Pastors, "Ordination Truth.com: Committed to Scripture, Subordinated to Jesus, Called to Unity," 2016, www.ordinationtruth.com).

²The significance of the issue of women's ordination in today's Seventh-day Adventist Church is illustrated by the title of a symposium on the supremacy of male headship, "Crisis Ahead!," held in Bakersfield Hillcrest Seventh-day Adventist Church in Central California in June 2015 (see Jared Wright, "Head of Headship

in the Seventh-day Adventist Church are not happening in a vacuum. Other denominations have faced and are facing similar crises. In fact, a broad discussion of the doctrine of God and human gender issues is under way within the wider Christian community.³

So far, women's ordination has been approached mainly from a theological perspective. Scholars such as Mark Chaves believe that "there is no compelling reason internal to the Bible to grant interpretive primacy either to the texts opposing gender equality or to the texts supporting gender equality."⁴ However, many others hold polarized views. Some contend that

Warns 'Crisis Ahead,'" Spectrum News, [19 May 2015], <http://spectrummagazine.org/node/6819>). Recently, several entities of the Seventh-day Adventist Church have issued statements opposing the Annual Council of the General Conference vote on the "Unity in Mission: Procedures in Church Reconciliation" document, which outlines disciplinary procedures for addressing denominational institutions that are said to be out of compliance with deonomination policies (Adventist News Network Staff, "United for Mission: Implementing the Process for Unity," Adventist Review News, [11 January 2017], <http://www.adventistreview.org/church-news/story-united-for-mission-%E2%80%93implementing-the-process-for-unity>). For more information about this discussion, see Adventist Review/Adventist News Network Staff, "Church Governance and Unity to Be Discussed at Annual Council," Adventist Review News, (25 September 2016), <http://www.adventistreview.org/church-news/story4391-church-governance-and-unity-to-be-discussed-at-annual-council>; General Conference Communication Staff, "Recommendation on Non-Compliance to Go to Annual Council," Adventist Review News, (6 October 2016), <http://www.adventistreview.org/church-news/story4433-recommendation-on-non-compliance-to-go-to-annual-council>; Andrew McChesney and Mark A. Kellner, "Annual Council Approves Measure to Encourage Adherence to Church Policies," Adventist Review News, (11 October 2016), <http://www.adventistreview.org/church-news/story4458-annual-council-approves-measure-to-encourage-adherence-to-church-policies>; Adventist News Network, "Important Responsibility in Following Voted World Church Actions," Adventist Review News, (3 November 2016), <http://www.adventistreview.org/church-news/story4509-important-responsibility-in-following-voted-world-church-actions>; North American Division Communication Staff, "NAD Year-End Meeting Discusses Unity Document," Adventist Review News, (3 November 2016), <http://www.adventistreview.org/church-news/story4501-nad-year-end-meeting-discusses-unity-document>; North American Division Office of Communication, "NAD Executive Committee Votes Continued Support of World Church," Adventist Review News, (3 November 2016), <http://www.adventistreview.org/church-news/story-nad-executive-committee-votes-continued-support-of-world-church>.

³See Gilbert M. Valentine, "Flying Bishops, Women Clergy, and the Processes of Change in the Anglican Communion," *AUSS* 51.2 (2013): 219–266; Kevin Giles, *The Trinity & Subordinationism: The Doctrine of God & the Contemporary Gender Debate* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2002); Dennis W. Jowers and H. Wayne House, eds., *The New Evangelical Subordinationism? Perspectives on the Equality of God the Father and God the Son* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2012).

⁴Mark Chaves, *Ordaining Women: Culture and Conflict in Religious Organizations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), 101.

male headship is God-ordained,⁵ and others argue that the Bible as a whole promotes gender equality.⁶ Both sides present their arguments based on what they confidently assert to be solid biblical principles.

However, since hermeneutics is subjective and artful, to a certain extent, examining various arguments through a nontheological lens could provide triangulation to the hermeneutical/exegetical studies. Recognizing the usefulness of taking multidisciplinary approaches to religious texts, Frank Wijsen, for instance, encouraged religious scholars to take an interdisciplinary approach by incorporating discourse analysis into their studies.⁷ Since human cognition is mediated through language,⁸ and religious beliefs and doctrines are often promulgated through written texts, examining various claims and arguments in the texts through a linguistic lens could shed further light on the debate concerning women's ordination.

Various discourse analysts have examined religious language and persuasive strategies used in sermons and other speeches.⁹ However, deeply divisive issues, such as women's ordination, have remained outside the purview of discourse analysts. This could be partly due to the fact that various religious beliefs are formed based on the Scripture, which is assumed to transcend logical reasoning and verifiable truths. Recently, however, I have illustrated how examining implicit macro-propositions and various local meanings employed in a religious text could help readers identify the process of doctrinal formation and various persuasive tactics, by analyzing an article which legitimizes the current position of the Southern Baptist Convention on women's ordination.¹⁰ The current study extends this line of inquiry by examining the arguments put forth by Seventh-day Adventist scholars on this issue.

⁵For example, see John Piper and Wayne Grudem, *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood: A Response to Evangelical Feminism* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2012); Mary A. Kassian, *Women, Creation and the Fall* (Westchester, IL: Crossway Books, 1990).

⁶For example, see Stanley N. Gundry and James R. Beck, eds., *Two Views on Women in Ministry* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2005); Ronald W. Pierce, Rebecca Merrill Groothuis, and Gordon D. Fee, eds. *Discovering Biblical Equality: Complementarity Without Hierarchy* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2005).

⁷Frank Wijsen, "Editorial: Discourse Analysis in Religious Studies," *Religion* 43.1 (2013): 1–3.

⁸Peter Carruthers, "The Cognitive Functions of Language," *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 25.6 (2002): 657–674; Edward Sapir, "The Status of Linguistics as a Science," *Language* 5.4 (1929): 207–214.

⁹E.g., Yari Neuman, Yotam Lurie, and Michele Rosenthal, "A Watermelon Without Seeds: A Case Study in Rhetorical Rationality," *Text & Talk* 21.4 (2001): 543–565; Mark Garner, "Preaching as a Communicative Event: A Discourse Analysis of Sermons by Robert Rollock (1555–1599)," *Reformation and Renaissance Review* 9.1 (2007): 45–70; Snobra Rizwan, "Religion, Ideology and Discourse: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Majlis-e-Hussain," *Mathal/Mashal* 1.1 (2011): 1–34.

¹⁰See Eun-Young Julia Kim, "Persuasive Strategies in a Chauvinistic Religious Discourse: The Case of Women's Ordination," *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis Across Disciplines* 8.1 (2016): 58–83.

The Two Texts

This article comparatively analyzes two texts: (1) the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary's 2014 statement titled "On the Unique Headship of Christ in the Church" and (2) a statement titled "An Open Appeal from Faculty, Alumni, Students, and Friends of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary," which directly responds to the Seminary's statement (see appendices). Some background information regarding these documents might be helpful for those who are unfamiliar with them. At the 2015 General Conference Session held in San Antonio, TX—the quinquennial meeting of the denomination's decision-making body made up of Seventh-day Adventist leaders and delegates from around the world—the decision was made not to grant authority to divisions for making decisions regarding ordination practices in their own regions. Prior to this decision, the faculty at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, which is the denomination's flagship institution for pastoral training on the campus of Andrews University, collaboratively created a statement, "On the Unique Headship of Christ in the Church," denouncing top-down, headship-oriented male leadership in the church.¹¹ Soon after the statement was posted on the Seminary's website, a group of Seventh-day Adventist theologians, pastors, administrators, students, and alumni came together to create the "Open Appeal," which asked the Seminary to reconsider its statement. This appeal was published on the *Adventist Review* website in October 2014.¹²

These documents are similar in length, with the Seminary's Statement containing 3,859 words and the "Open Appeal" containing 4,273.¹³ Since these are high-stakes texts, written and endorsed by theologians within the Seventh-day Adventist Church who represent polarized views, the texts warrant an in-depth study, not only by theologians, but also by Seventh-day

¹¹Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, "On the Unique Headship of Christ in the Church: A Statement of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary," (9 September 2014), https://www.andrews.edu/sem/about/statements/9-19-14-updated_web_version-unique_headship_of_christ_final.pdf. See also Andrew McChesney, "Andrews Theologians Approve Statement on Headship," (22 August 2014), <http://www.adventistreview.org/church-news/andrews-theologians-approve-statement-on-church-leadership>. The Seminary's Statement reflects the majority view of the current faculty at the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary.

¹²"An Open Appeal from Faculty, Alumni, Students, and Friends of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary to Faculty of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary Regarding the Recent Statement from the Seminary on the Unique Headship of Christ in the Church," (6 October 2014), http://www.adventistreview.org/assets/public/news/2014-10/242011032-Appeal-to-the-Seminary-Faculty_1_.pdf. See also Andrew McChesney, "Appeal Made Over Andrews Statement on Headship," (7 October 2014), <http://www.adventistreview.org/church-news/appeal-made-over-andrews-statement-on-headship>; idem, "Statement from Andrews Seminary in Response to Headship Appeal," (13 October 2014), <http://www.adventistreview.org/church-news/statement-from-andrews-seminary-in-response-to-headship-appeal>.

¹³These numbers include the endnotes but exclude the list of individuals who endorse the "Open Appeal."

Adventist lay members who care about the denomination's current positions on controversial social issues.

The current study approaches the two texts from the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis by focusing on the intertextual and interdiscursive relationships and the use of language. By focusing on formal and linguistic aspects of the texts, the study seeks to identify contrasting ideologies and discursive strategies manifested in the texts. For convenience, the two documents will be abbreviated as the Seminary's Statement and the "Open Appeal" hereafter. Before proceeding to the analysis, I provide a brief overview of basic tenets of Critical Discourse Analysis, and one of its methods, the Discourse-Historical Approach, which serves as the underlying conceptual framework of this study.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), a branch of linguistics, examines how various ideologies are shaped through texts.¹⁴ A relatively new sub-field of applied linguistics, CDA continues to seek new avenues of inquiry and methods of analysis. Some of the widely recognized methods include Dialectal-Relational Approach, Socio-Cognitive Approach, and Discourse-Historical Approach.¹⁵ CDA is heterogeneous in nature in that boundaries between methods are somewhat malleable. Nevertheless, these methods share a commonality of examining discursive means meshed with ideology. Critical discourse analysts are particularly interested in uncovering manipulative tactics, especially those that are "enacted and reproduced by subtle, routine, everyday forms of text and talk that appear natural and quite acceptable."¹⁶ Central to its studies are themes such as how power is legitimized and reproduced through text and talk.¹⁷

Discourse-Historical Approach

Among various methods of CDA, Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) focuses on discovering any inconsistencies, self-contradictions, paradoxes, and dilemmas in the text-internal structures by examining intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between texts.¹⁸ Intertextuality refers to the connections that a text establishes with other texts through direct

¹⁴Norman Fairclough, "Critical and Descriptive Goals in Discourse Analysis," *Journal of Pragmatics* 9.6 (1985): 739–763.

¹⁵Providing an overview of these different methods would be a study of its own. For a helpful overview of the field, see Encarnacion Hildalgo Tenorio, "Critical Discourse Analysis: An Overview," *Nordic Journal of English Studies* 10.1 (2011): 183–210.

¹⁶Teun A. Van Dijk, "Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis," *Discourse and Society* 4.2 (1993): 249–283.

¹⁷See Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer, eds., *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (London: Sage Publications, 2009).

¹⁸Wodak and Meyer provide specific steps critical discourse analysts can follow to conduct an analysis using a specific method, including DHA. See *ibid.*

references and allusions, and it takes the form of re-contextualization or de-contextualization. The former occurs when certain quotes are taken from one text to justify arguments made in another argument, while the latter occurs when those quotes are taken out of context and applied to a new context. Interdiscursivity refers to embedded discourses/topics within a particular text. Since discourses are often hybrid, identifying and studying the connections between embedded discourses allows a critical discourse analyst to examine the overall structure of the arguments and identify any inherent fallacies.

The DHA has been adopted for this study because both the Seminary's Statement and the "Open Appeal" include heavy references to the Bible and Ellen G. White's writings, and various embedded discursive topics that form the basis of argument for their opposing positions on women's ordination. The following analysis compares their patterns of textual interaction, embedded discourses, and language use.

Intertextuality

Patterns of Citations

As mentioned, intertextuality refers to the connections that a text establishes with other texts through direct references and allusions. Both of the texts under analysis make intertextual references to two main bodies of literature: (1) the Bible and (2) the writings of Ellen G. White. First, both texts include numerous citations from the Bible and repeatedly use phrases such as "according to Scripture," "the Bible teaches," and many other variations. The Seminary's Statement includes ten such phrases (lines 104, 124, 164, 167, 175, 180, 182, 203, 212, 240) and the "Open Appeal" includes thirteen (lines 30, 50, 59, 68, 88, 91, 126, 186, 237–238, 290–291, 299, 328, 343).¹⁹ The "Open Appeal" emphasizes the importance of using the Bible as the only authoritative text for finding answers, repeating phrases such as "the Bible and the Bible only" (line 30) and "comparing Scripture with Scripture" (lines 91, 237–238, 290–291). For some readers, the fact that the two texts utilize different versions of the Bible as indicated in the endnotes—the *New American Standard Bible* (NASB) for the Seminary's Statement and the *New King James Version* (NKJV) for the "Open Appeal"—could be seen as more than a casual difference.

The majority of references to the Bible are given as parenthetical citations in both texts, without actual biblical texts. As **table 1** shows, the Seminary's Statement includes approximately twice as many references to the Bible compared to the "Open Appeal."²⁰ In addition, it includes citations

¹⁹Line numbers refer to those in each statement as they appear in the appendices.

²⁰A verse included in multiple references was counted as one instance. However, when the subsequent citations included additional verses, they were counted separately. To illustrate, the Seminary's Statement cites Eph 5:23, Eph 5:21–23, and Eph 5:23, 25 as separate references. These were counted as three because the second and the third references add additional verses. However, repeated inclusion of Eph 5:23 occurring in other parts of the text was excluded from the count, as it was already included in the previous three. Multiple verses continuously following were

from more books than the “Open Appeal,” especially in the case of the Old Testament. The “Open Appeal” draws entirely from the book of Genesis, with ten of the twenty Old Testament references taken from Gen 2. At the end of the text, the “Open Appeal” lists male leaders who led Israelites after the exile as evidence that God appointed only male leaders.

Another observed difference is that the Seminary’s Statement includes twenty-eight references to the Gospels, including eleven references from Matthew, two from Mark, and fifteen from John, whereas the “Open Appeal” includes two—one of which is from John and the other from Matthew. On the one hand, the Seminary’s Statement draws from the book of John to point out an equal relationship between God and Christ, and Christ’s authority and power to defeat the prince of this world. It uses verses from Matthew and Mark to emphasize servanthood and love as core elements defining human leadership and relationships. On the other hand, the “Open Appeal” quotes John 17:21–23 to support its argument that a hierarchal relationship in the Godhead transfers to family. In these verses, Christ, expressing His oneness with the Father, prays to God for complete unity for His followers. The “Open Appeal” interprets being one with Jesus and God as being in a hierarchal relationship, contending that Jesus “declared” it so in these verses (lines 61–62).

Table 1. Citations from the Bible

	The Seminary’s Statement		The “Open Appeal”	
	Number of References	Number of Books Cited	Number of References	Number of Books Cited
OT	14	7	20	1
NT	90	18	37	15
Total	104	25	57	16

Secondly, references to the writings of Ellen G. White also abound in these texts, each making over twenty references to her various writings. Each text includes references to more than a dozen different White publications, seven of which are cited in both, including the same pages and chapters. To illustrate, the Seminary’s Statement uses statements from her book, *Patriarchs and Prophets*, to support that Eve was created equal to Adam because she was “to stand by his side as an equal” (lines 209–210).²¹ Contrarily, the “Open

counted as separate items when they were separated by semicolons or cited separately. For instance, in the “Open Appeal,” Gen 2:15, 16, and 17 are all mentioned separately, and therefore were counted as three different references, whereas Gen 1:29–30, used in the “Seminary Statement,” was counted as one. When a text mentions a certain chapter as a whole and then later includes specific verses from that chapter, the instance of mentioning that chapter was excluded from the count. Books that consist of two parts (e.g., 1 Peter and 2 Peter) were counted separately.

²¹See Ellen G. White, *Patriarchs and Prophets* (Washington, DC: Review & Herald,

Appeal” draws from the same chapter, entitled “The Creation,” in order to highlight the fact that Adam, not Eve, was the “representative of the whole human family” (lines 225–226).²² Another example is the use of the same page in *The Acts of the Apostles* by both texts to argue their opposing positions.²³ There White describes the authoritative position that men had in early times, and the “Open Appeal” argues that ordained male elders/overseers function as Christ’s representatives (lines 141–143), endowed with the same authority as Christ (lines 162–166). The Seminary’s Statement, however, includes *The Acts of the Apostles* as evidence for the importance of humility for church leaders (lines 134–137).²⁴ Throughout the text, the “Open Appeal” draws heavily from White’s writings to argue that various passages in her writings clearly affirm Adam’s headship and authority over Eve.

The Same Texts, Serving Different Functions

Different interpretations are also rendered for the same biblical passages. Out of 161 combined references to Bible passages, five are used in both texts for framing their support. The two texts often incorporate some of the same biblical references for antithetical purposes. For example, the Seminary’s Statement uses Rev 13:6–8 in order to draw a parallel between the anti-Christ system of government that usurps the authority of Jesus and the headship-oriented, top-down church leadership (lines 77–84), whereas the “Open Appeal” uses Rev 13:8²⁵ to make the case for functional differences in the Godhead by stating that Jesus was “committed to the function of the Lamb of God that was to take away the sins of the world” (lines 194–197).

Another important biblical passage that is quoted by both texts is 1 Cor 11:3,²⁶ which the “Open Appeal” confidently uses to confirm men’s authority over women. Conversely, the Seminary’s Statement includes this verse, along with Eph 1:22–23; 5:23; Col 1:18; 2:19; 1 Cor 11:3; and Col 2:10, to argue that “Christ is the only Head of the Church and the human members of Christ’s Church collectively (male and female) make up the body of Christ” (lines 175–178). In doing so, the Seminary’s Statement inserts a parenthetical phrase “(male and female)” and thereby selectively focuses on the notion of

1890), 46.

²²See *ibid.*, 48.

²³See *idem*, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1911), 360.

²⁴See *ibid.*, 359–360.

²⁵The NASB reads, “All who dwell on the earth will worship him, everyone whose name has not been written from the foundation of the world in the book of life of the Lamb who has been slain. The NKJV reads, “All who dwell on the earth will worship him, whose names have not been written in the Book of Life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.”

²⁶The NASB reads, “But I want you to understand that Christ is the head of every man, and the man is the head of a woman, and God is the head of Christ.” The NKJV reads, “But I want you to know that the head of every man is Christ, the head of woman is man, and the head of Christ is God.”

the body of Christ and Christ's sole headship indicated in the various verses, while disregarding Paul's controversial remark that ostensibly recognizes men as head of women, namely, "the man is the head of a woman" (NASB).

How the two texts interpret 1 Tim 5:17²⁷ also highlights the artful, subjective nature of hermeneutics. This biblical passage frames the argument of the Seminary's Statement, which contends that church leaders, as humble servants, should be respected and "deeply appreciated for their diligent labor" (lines 137–139), whereas the same verse is used to bestow headship authority to men as God's representatives in the "Open Appeal" (lines 163–166).

Overall, the Seminary's Statement exhibits denser intertextuality and draws from a wider range of biblical texts. Furthermore, although both texts consider the Bible and White's writings as the most authoritative sources to consult concerning the issue of woman pastors, the ways in which the two texts interpret these sources partly demonstrate the subjective nature of exegesis as differing core principles drive their interpretations, leading to conflicting versions of truth.

Interdiscursivity

As was discussed above, interdiscursivity refers to embedded discourses/topics within a particular text. Various topics can be found embedded within the two texts under analysis here, along with supporting statements. **Figure 1** illustrates the embedded discourse topics outlined in the two texts.

²⁷The NASB reads, "The elders who rule well are to be considered worthy of double honor, especially those who work hard at preaching and teaching." The NKJV reads, "Let the elders who rule well be counted worthy of double honor, especially those who labor in the word and doctrine."

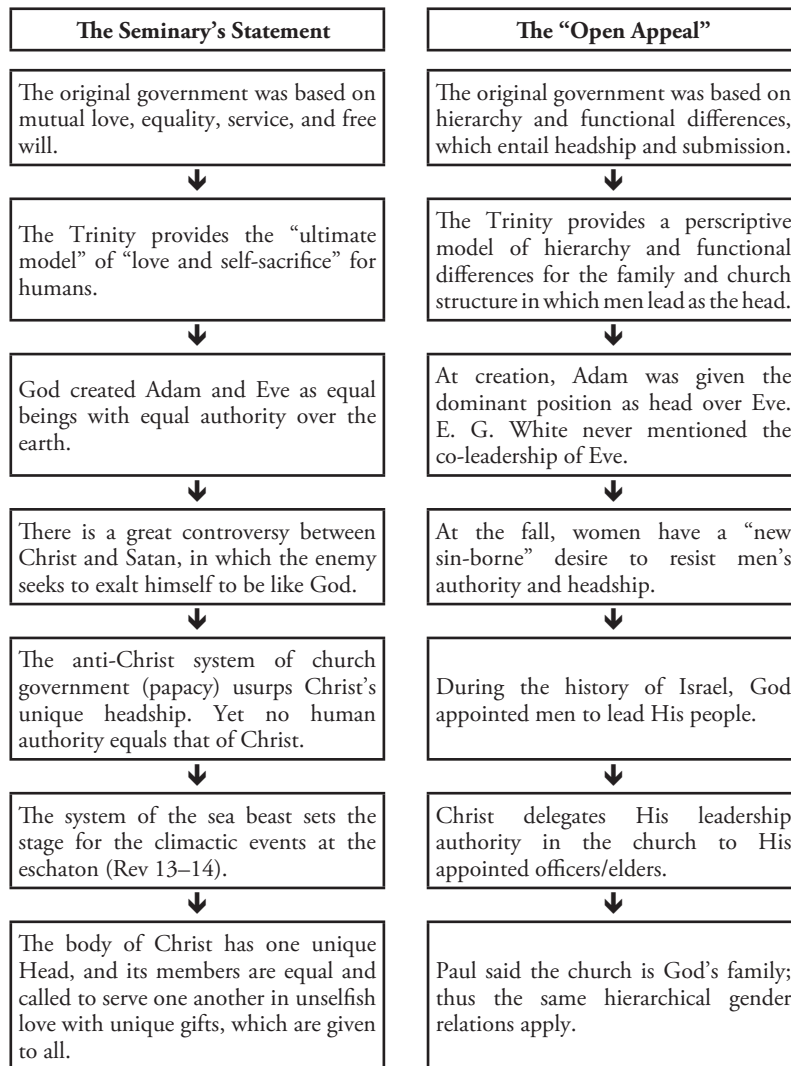


Figure 1. Discourse Topics

The Seminary's Statement follows a distinct storyline, framed around the Adventist doctrine concerning the sea beast in Rev 13–14. Words such as "woman" and "women" are not mentioned until more than halfway through the text (line 205). Unlike many other papers supporting women's ordination, which typically center on topics such as women leaders in the Bible,²⁸

²⁸For example, see Jo Ann Davidson, "Women in Scripture: A Survey and

metaphorical meaning of “head” in Paul’s writings,²⁹ or other biblical texts that seem to affirm an egalitarian view, the Seminary’s Statement opens with a description of the original government before the fall of humanity that was founded on mutual love and free will. The “interpersonal relationships within the Trinity” characterized by “love and self-sacrifice” are said to “provide the ultimate model” for this pre-fall government (lines 171–173). This is in contrast to a “top-down governmental structure . . . within the Church” (lines 172–174). It then proceeds to explain the Great Controversy between Christ and Satan and the anti-Christ government that usurps Christ’s authority over church. It likens this system to that of the sea beast in Rev 13–14 and emphasizes that there is only one Head, who is Christ. It elaborates on His servant leadership, referring to Greek terms, such as δοῦλος and διάκονος. Finally, it highlights the body of Christ as consisting of members who are equal and receive unique, individual gifts from God.

The “Open Appeal” also begins with the original government before the fall of humanity, but understands it as having a hierarchical character. This is based on a particular view of the Trinity that models a structure of headship and submission. This hierarchical pattern was the original plan that was supposed to be reflected in human relationships between men and women. It contends that, since human beings were created in the image of God and since the Trinity is hierarchical, then human relationships are also hierarchical. It claims to derive this reasoning from 1 Cor 11:3, which is said to teach functional differences between the persons of the Trinity, namely, that the Father is the head of the Son; the Son, then, functions in a submissive role to the Father. Thus, these functional differences, according to the “Open Appeal,” entail headship, authority, and submission. It argues that 1 Cor 11:3 prescribes a hierarchical relationship between men and women that resembles the functional differences in the relationship between Christ and God.

It responds to the Seminary’s rebuke of the authoritarian system of the Roman Catholic papacy by denying any semblance between the headship it presents and the coercive headship of post-apostolic Christianity. Nevertheless, it still echoes such a connotation when it asserts that ministers are Christ’s ambassadors who “carry the same authority as the person they represent” (lines 163–164). The “Open Appeal” points out that woman was the first to transgress in the Garden of Eden, and therefore, God “encourage[d] Adam’s role by way of command” (line 272). Semantically incongruous words, “encourage” and “command,” are presented as harmonious concepts, masking the potentially coercive nature of “command” with a gentler notion of “encouragement.” According to the “Open Appeal,” Eve was the one who changed at the fall. She was originally happy to fully submit to Adam’s headship over her,

Evaluation,” in *Women and Ordination: Biblical and Historical Studies*, ed. John W. Reeve (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2015), 121–142.

²⁹For example, see Teresa Reeve, “Should Women Be Ordained as Pastors? New Testament Considerations,” in *Women and Ordination: Biblical and Historical Studies*, ed. John W. Reeve (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2015), 218–219.

but now she competed against him, trying to be his equal. Furthermore, it argues that White's writings nowhere recognize women's co-leadership.

Thus, **figure 1** highlights different theological paradigms represented in the two texts. The Seminary's Statement views men and women as equally created beings, denying predestined gender hierarchy. It also contends that headship is unique to Christ, and the body of Christ consists of equal members who receive unique gifts from God. It forewarns readers of a rather dramatic and dismal outcome of exercising headship authority, as such system will set "the stage for the climactic events of the final conflict in Revelation" (lines 85–86).

In contrast, the "Open Appeal" believes that, just as the relationship between God and Christ is hierarchical with functional differences, so is the relationship between men and women.³⁰ Notably, as the "Open Appeal" applies the doctrine of the Trinity to justify male headship over women, the "position" of the Holy Spirit—the third person of the Trinity—goes unmentioned.

The writings of Paul are also heavily quoted in both texts. However, the two texts paint incompatible pictures of Christianity, even though they both draw from Paul. The Seminary's Statement sees Christianity as centered on unselfish love, which should be reflected in humble service to one another within the church (lines 249–251), whereas the "Open Appeal" sees headship and submission as key principles, which must be reflected in the relationships of human beings, who bear the image of God (lines 68–70).

In brief, various embedded discourses in the two texts point to contrasting theological paradigms. Whereas the Seminary's Statement considers claiming headship authority by any humans condemnable, the "Open Appeal" sees it as perfectly aligning with biblical principles.

Use of Language

Lexico-Semantics

Lexico-Semantics is a study of the meanings of individual lexical items and relationships between words. The analysis in this section focuses on the meaning of two key words, namely, "headship" and "leadership," since the different semantic designations of these terms seem to partly explain the contrasting epistemological stance in each text.

In the scholarly literature on organizational behaviors, the two terms are differentiated. C. R. Holloman defines headship as "being imposed on

³⁰Recently, evangelicals have begun to employ argumentation in the discussion of women's ordination that appeals to a hierarchical Trinity, in which the Son is eternally, functionally subordinated to the Father, as the model for the functional subordination of women to the headship of men in the family and the church. As such, only men should be ordained to pastoral leadership. For an example, see Wayne Grudem, *Evangelical Feminism & Biblical Truth: An Analysis of More Than One Hundred Disputed Questions* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2012), 46. Seventh-day Adventists who endorse the "Open Appeal" objecting to the ordination of women seem to have picked up on this argumentation (see lines 36–60). For an example outside of the "Open Appeal," see Council of Adventist Pastors, *The Adventist Ordination Crisis: Biblical Authority or Cultural Conformity?* (Spokane, WA: Council of Adventist Pastors, 2015).

the group but leadership as being accorded by the group.”³¹ In the same vein, C. A. Gibb, in his oft-cited work, states, “In headship there is a wide social gap between the group members and the head, who strives to maintain this social distance as an aid in the coercion of the group.”³² Gibb further characterizes headship in the following terms: “Domination or headship is maintained through an organized system and not by the spontaneous group recognition, by fellow group members, or the individual’s contribution to group locomotion. . . . In the domination or headship relation there is little or no sense of shared feeling or joint action in pursuit of the given goal.”³³

The Seminary’s Statement distinguishes between these two terms, applying “headship” solely to the divine realm. When “headship” is used, this text emphasizes its major tenets as in the following statements:

No other human being may rightfully claim a headship role in the Church (lines 10–11).

Headship in the Church is unique to Christ and is non-transferable (lines 185–186).

The word “leadership” appears often clustered with other words, such as “service” and “servant”:

Christ reflected God’s moral government of love by exemplifying service leadership (lines 94–95).

All leadership within the Church must be servant leadership (line 125).

Leadership in the Church should be modeled after Christ’s servant leadership and grounded in love, with the recognition that Christ’s manner of leadership is to be reflected by Christian leaders (lines 297–299).

In contrast, the “Open Appeal” uses these two terms synonymously, often in juxtaposition. The following statements illustrate this point (*italics supplied*):

In the Seminary statement, the headship of Christ in relation to the *headship/leadership* of the New Testament offices is not carefully presented (lines 152–153).

Paul explains the *headship/leadership* principle of man as “the head of the woman” (lines 242–243).

On the historical development of *headship/leadership* Ellen White comments . . . (lines 320–321).

Another example of this reciprocity is found in the statement, “Jesus clearly calls some people to *leadership* in the church. What, then, does the statement mean by ‘non-transferable’ *headship*?” (lines 121–123; *italics supplied*).

³¹Bernard M. Bass, *Handbook of Leadership: Theory, Research & Managerial Applications* (New York: Free Press, 1990), 18–19. See C. R. Holloman, “Leadership and Headship: There Is a Difference,” *Personnel Administration* 31.4 (1968): 38–44, idem, “‘Headship’ vs. Leadership,” *Business and Economic Review* 32.2 (1986): 35–37.

³²C. A. Gibb, “Leadership,” in *The Handbook of Social Psychology*, 2nd ed., ed. Gardner Lindzey and Elliott Aronson, 5 vols. (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1969), 4:205–282.

³³Gibb, “Leadership,” 213.

The above quotes seem to suggest that lack of differentiation between the two terms—which the Seminary’s Statement differentiates in the context of women’s ordination—keeps the “Open Appeal” from more effectively engaging in the debate. In the Seminary’s Statement, the term “headship,” devoid of the negative connotation noted in the literature on leadership styles, is vertical, limited to the relationship between Christ and His people, whereas the term “leadership” is horizontal, applying to relationships between all of His people. It rejects an elitist headship authority of any humans. The “Open Appeal,” however, presents both “headship” and “leadership” as vertical relations, with no differentiation between the two. The closing statements of the two texts further showcase these differing conceptualizations. The Seminary’s Statement ends its text by emphasizing its bottom-up view of church leadership, stating that “the highest level to which any leaders can ‘ascend’ corresponds directly to the depths to which they are willing to descend in loving and humble service” (lines 285–287). The “Open Appeal” ends its text by expressing concerns for the church’s and the Seminary’s potential loss of authority and honor because of the Seminary’s Statement, which, it asserts, “may hurt the Seminary’s reputation, trust, and credibility” and “undermine our credibility among thinking scholars in other denominations” (lines 348–351).

Modality

The role of modality in persuasive discourses has been studied extensively by discourse analysts.³⁴ Conveying a speaker/writer’s degree of certainty and knowledge, modality often is signified through modal auxiliary verbs. It can be either deontic or epistemic; the former expresses the notion of obligation or permission, and the latter connotes certainty or possibility. Speakers/writers also “boost” their arguments with specific adjectives (e.g., “certain,” “clear”), adverbs (e.g., “certainly,” “supremely”), or verbs (e.g., “affirm,” “prove”).³⁵ These boosters function as “pseudo logical devices”³⁶ when they are used to add supreme value to assertions without providing convincing evidence.

Both texts express high levels of certainty and confidence in their statements through various words. In the case of the Seminary’s Statement, the most notable example of epistemic modality involves the word “affirm.” It includes ten statements with “affirm,” mostly in the last section, where it lists its major tenets on headship and ordination. It also expresses certainty of its interpretation of biblical texts with statements, such as “Scripture affirms . . .” (line 164), “Scripture also affirms . . .” (line 167), and “Scripture emphatically excludes . . .” (lines 240–241). The booster, “obviously,” is also used. Notice its assertion that “one’s role in the home *obviously* does not

³⁴See Pekka Sulkunen and Jukka Törrönen, “The Production of Values: The Concept of Modality in Textual Discourse Analysis,” *Semiotica* 113.1–2 (1997): 43–69.

³⁵See Ken Hyland, “Hedges, Boosters and Lexical Invisibility: Noticing Modifiers in Academic Texts,” *Language Awareness* 9.4 (2000): 179–197.

³⁶For example, see Malka Muchnik, “Discourse Strategies of Maxzirim Bitshuva: The Case of a Repentance Preacher in Israel,” *Text* 25.3 (2005): 373–398.

translate into a similar or analogous role in one's workplace" (lines 196–197; italics supplied). This suggests that the truth value of its logic can be verified through common sense based on everyday experience of the real world.

The most notable example of epistemic modality in the "Open Appeal" involves emphatic adjectives and adverbs. For example, it tries to solidify the credibility of its arguments by repeated use of "careful" and "carefully," portraying the creators of the Seminary's Statement as lacking careful thinking. The following statements exemplify this point (italics supplied):

We need to be *careful* not to project this distorted Catholic model onto the Seventh-day Adventist Church (lines 41–42).

In the Seminary statement, the headship of Christ in relation to the headship/leadership of the New Testament offices is not *carefully* presented (lines 152–153).

Boosters, such as "clear" and "clearly," appear in both texts, indicating a high level of certainty about their interpretations of certain biblical texts, but the usage is far more frequent in the "Open Appeal" (see **tab. 2**):

Table 2. The Use of the Booster Adjectives and Adverbs

The Seminary's Statement	The "Open Appeal"
1. "God's government of unselfish love is <i>clearly</i> and <i>supremely</i> manifested" (line 45).	1. "Scripture is <i>clear</i> that Christ has delegated leadership responsibility for His church to ministers and elders as undershepherds" (lines 50–52).
2. "The closest the Church comes to acts of enforcement is when it engages in discipline as a corporate body based on very <i>clear</i> teachings of Scripture" (lines 102–104).	2. "Since the context of 1 Corinthians 11 is <i>clearly</i> the church and not the home, this passage is significant for our understanding of gender relationships in the church" (lines 81–83).
	3. "Jesus <i>clearly</i> calls some people to leadership in the church" (lines 121–122).
	4. ". . . which Paul makes <i>clear</i> before setting forth instructions on church worship and church leadership" (lines 149–150).
	5. "There are <i>clear</i> indications in both the Bible and the writings of Ellen White that Adam had a leadership role before the entrance of sin" (lines 188–190).
	6. "Paul <i>clearly</i> teaches it in this passage . . ." (line 248).
	7. " <i>Clearly</i> , Paul's contrasting of Adam's role with that of Christ is rooted in the fact that Adam was the responsible leader" (lines 296–298).

Italics supplied.

The two texts emphasize contrasting concepts; the Seminary's Statement boosts love and equality, while the "Open Appeal" boosts men's headship authority as clear biblical principles. Examining sentences that indicate deontic modality through the use of "should" reveals contrasting ideologies even further (see **tab. 3**):

Table 3. The Usage of "Should"

The Seminary's Statement	The "Open Appeal"
1. "Church leaders <i>should</i> be humble servants" (lines 137–138).	1. "Jesus declared that the relationship between His followers <i>should</i> resemble the relationship existing between the [<i>sic</i>] Himself and the Father" (lines 61–62).
2. "They [leaders] <i>should</i> be respected and deeply appreciated . . ." (line 138).	2. "It is as essential that as a father he <i>should</i> improve the talents God has given him for the purpose of making the home a symbol of the heavenly family. . ." (lines 108–109 [quote from E. G. White]).
3. "Thus appointed leaders become stewards of a power that <i>should</i> be exercised on behalf of Christ and for the benefit of those they lead" (lines 144–146).	3. ". . . as that in the work of the ministry, he <i>should</i> make use of his God-given powers to win souls for the church . . ." (lines 109–111 [quote from White]).
4. "Those leading out <i>should</i> seek to allow their decision to be guided . . . by the group" (lines 148–150).	4. "She continued, 'As the priest in the home, and as the ambassador of Christ in the church, he <i>should</i> exemplify in his life the character of Christ . . .'" (lines 111–113 [quote from White]).
5. "Woman <i>should</i> fill the position which God originally designed for her, as her husband's equal" (lines 217–219 [quote from White]).	5. "We <i>should</i> definitely consult the New Testament . . ." (line 240).
6. "Humans <i>should</i> manifest the love of God in their family relationships" (lines 231–232).	6. "It [authority within the home (and also within the church)] <i>should</i> be expressed in loving care for the wife" (lines 284–285).
7. "The unselfish love that is central to God's moral government <i>should</i> be reflected in humble service to one another . . ." (lines 250–251).	7. "The importance of this statement [in which White confirms male headship] <i>should</i> not be underestimated" (line 305).
8. "The church <i>should</i> be modeled after Christ's servant leadership and grounded in love . . ." (lines 297–298).	

9. “The root *proistemi*, here translated ‘rule,’ literally refers to those who ‘stand before,’ beneficially leading and ministering to the community, and *should* not be confused with some kind of monarchical rulership” (lines 322–324).

Italics supplied.

Seven out of the nine instances of the use of “should” in the Seminary’s Statement involve the context of humility and service (e.g., statements 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8). Further, it quotes from White to emphasize gender equality (statement 5). In the “Open Appeal,” three sentences including “should” also come from White’s writings (statements 2, 3, and 4), in which she admonishes ministers to be faithful in family life. The “Open Appeal” includes those statements to justify “an intimate connection between leadership in the home and leadership in the church” (lines 91–92). The other three statements (1, 6, and 7) also emphasize men’s headship authority. In statement 6, the “Open Appeal” juxtaposes semantically distant notions such as “authority” and “loving care,” making the meaning somewhat ambiguous.

Lexical Frequencies

Discourse analysts often examine lexical density, diversity, and frequency in order to measure lexical richness and identify prominence given to certain words in a written text. This section focuses on lexical frequencies in the two texts to examine any potential relationships between the differing ideological stances and word usage. Although making a direct connection between the lexical frequencies and the attitudes toward women’s ordination is not possible, examining the word usage can serve as an additional means to triangulate the analysis as it illustrates the centrality of ideas that certain words play as building blocks for framing various arguments. **Table 4** represents the key words that are used twenty or more times in each text.

Table 4. Words Used Twenty or More Times

The Seminary’s Statement		The “Open Appeal”	
Church	89	Church	67
Christ	83	God	50
God	45	Christ	44
Love	40	Leadership	41
Head	28	Adam	32
Headship	27	Headship	31
Body	26	Man	25

The following word clouds generated through NVivo 11 help the reader to visualize and, thus, to identify more quickly the lexical frequencies in the two texts that are represented in **table 4** (see **figs. 2–3**). The most prominent terms are located in the center, with the font size indicating the degree of frequency of some of the most frequently used words in the texts.



Figure 2. Word Cloud for the Seminary's Statement



Figure 3. Word Cloud for the "Open Appeal"

As can be seen in **table 4** and **figures 2–3**, the Seminary’s Statement and the “Open Appeal” both include, not surprisingly, “church,” “God,” and “Christ” as their three highest frequency terms. A notable difference, however, is that the word “love” is the fourth frequently occurring word in the Seminary’s Statement, whereas “leadership,” “Adam,” and “headship” are the next frequently occurring words in the “Open Appeal.” The fact that “love” is a high-frequency item in the Seminary’s Statement may not be surprising to readers in that, throughout the text, it focuses on the servant leadership of Christ, which His followers are to model. The fact that the “Open Appeal” seeks to make the case for the headship/leadership authority for men is also demonstrated in the lexical data, as it repeatedly refers to Adam’s authority over Eve in the Garden of Eden to justify predestined gender hierarchy.

As can be seen, different semantic boundaries of key terms—“headship” and “leadership”—manifested in the two texts render the debate ineffectual. Moreover, the high level of certainty that the two groups try to convey through various linguistic devices leaves no room for negotiation as they define Christianity in contrasting terms.

Conclusion

The brief linguistic analysis presented in this article sought to demonstrate how the Seventh-day Adventist Church’s two contrasting views on women’s ordination could be examined from a nontheological perspective. Although this article is limited in its scope, as it focuses on a few selected aspects of formal and linguistic properties of the texts, some insights can be gleaned.

First, the analysis shows that a lack of consensus on the definition of “headship” and “leadership” keeps the two groups from more effectively engaging in the debate. In the Seminary’s Statement, “headship” is entirely designated to the divine realm, whereas “leadership” is based on horizontal human relationships based on equality. In the “Open Appeal,” the two terms are interchangeable. As noted earlier, scholarly literature makes a distinction between the two, with headship relations typically representing those observed in business or military settings, where the power is granted due to the position, rather than functions. The semantic designations of these terms may need to be adjusted when used in the religious context. If the church wishes to move the discussion forward, it would be important to clearly define these terms by examining how these notions are operationalized by local and global constituents of the church in various areas of ministries.

Second, the analysis indicates that contrasting viewpoints articulated in the two texts reflect largely different theological paradigms, projected through the two groups’ differing views of the Trinity. Whereas the Trinity serves as “the ultimate model of love and self-sacrifice” in the Seminary’s Statement (lines 172–173), it serves as a model of “headship and submission,” which constitute “principles of heaven belonging to the Godhead” in the “Open Appeal” (lines 68–69). Both texts begin with the original government. However, in the Seminary’s Statement, principles of love and equality serve as building blocks in the subsequent arguments,

guiding its interpretation of the Bible and White's writings, whereas in the "Open Appeal," headship and submission serve as organizing principles shaping its interpretation of those texts. We have seen these paradigms being fully operational as the two groups define how Christianity should be through their main propositions and the use of deontic modality.

Some may argue that the two sets of paradigms are not necessarily antithetical nor contradictory. However, in these two texts, these different paradigms function as contrasting ideologies, affecting not only textual interactions, but also overall interdiscursive structures of arguments.

Also, both texts attempt to convey a strong sense of credibility of their arguments by reiterating phrases such as "Scripture affirms" (the Seminary's Statement) and "Scripture with Scripture" (the "Open Appeal"). The analysis has partly demonstrated what scholars such as Bultmann, Kaiser and Silva, and Jensen, as well as many other theologians, have long noted concerning the difficulty of being completely objective and impartial in interpreting biblical texts.³⁷ The number of biblical references does not determine the level of biblicality of an argument. And yet, the sense of interpretive supremacy the "Open Appeal" tries to convey through more frequent, repeated use of terms, such as "carefully" and "clearly," and through its emphasis on "comparing Scripture with Scripture by consulting the whole Bible," (lines 237–238) seems problematic when it draws from a narrower range of biblical texts, and the meanings of key terms are fused.

In sum, findings of this study suggest that the Seventh-day Adventist Church's current debate concerning women pastors seems to center not so much on which side interprets the Bible and White's writings more carefully; the analysis shows that there is no shortage of statements in them for either side to draw from to support its position. Rather, the debate seems to hinge upon how the church defines pastoral leadership and with which theological paradigm it aligns its view of the triune God, who "is infinite and beyond human comprehension."³⁸

³⁷Rudolph Bultmann, "Is Exegesis Without Presuppositions Possible?" in *Existence and Faith: Shorter Writings of Rudolf Bultmann* (Cleveland, OH: The Word, 1965), 289–296; Walter C. Kaiser Jr. and Moisés Silva, *Introduction to Biblical Hermeneutics* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2007); Alexander Jensen, *Theological Hermeneutics* (London: SCM, 2007).

³⁸Seventh-day Adventist Church, "28 Fundamental Beliefs," 2015 ed. (Silver Spring, MD: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 2015), 3, <https://www.adventist.org/fileadmin/adventist.org/files/articles/official-statements/28Beliefs-Web.pdf>.

APPENDIX A

ELLEN G. WHITE WORKS ABBREVIATED IN APPENDICES B AND C

<i>AA</i>	<i>The Acts of the Apostles.</i> Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1911.
<i>7ABC</i>	Vol. 7A of <i>Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary</i> . 8 vols. Washington, DC: Review & Herald, 1970.
<i>AH</i>	<i>The Adventist Home.</i> Hagerstown, MD: Review & Herald, 1952.
<i>BE</i>	<i>The Bible Echo.</i>
<i>COL</i>	<i>Christ's Object Lessons.</i> N.p.: Review & Herald, 1900.
<i>CT</i>	<i>Counsels to Parents, Teachers, and Students.</i> Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1913.
<i>DA</i>	<i>The Desire of Ages.</i> Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1898.
<i>Ev</i>	<i>Evangelism.</i> Washington, DC: Review & Herald, 1946.
<i>EW</i>	<i>Early Writings.</i> Washington, DC: Review & Herald, 1882.
<i>FE</i>	<i>Fundamentals of Christian Education.</i> Nashville, TN: Southern Publishing Association, 1923.
<i>FLB</i>	<i>The Faith I Live By.</i> Washington, DC: Review & Herald, 1958.
<i>GC</i>	<i>The Great Controversy.</i> Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1911.
<i>LHU</i>	<i>Lift Him Up.</i> Hagerstown, MD: Review & Herald, 1988.
<i>MR</i>	<i>Manuscript Releases.</i> 21 vols. Silver Spring, MD: Ellen G. White Estate, 1981–1993.
<i>PaM</i>	<i>Pastoral Ministry.</i> Silver Spring, MD: General Conference Ministerial Association, 1995.
<i>PP</i>	<i>Patriarchs and Prophets.</i> Washington, DC: Review & Herald, 1890.
<i>RH</i>	<i>The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald.</i>
<i>SAT</i>	<i>Sermons and Talks.</i> 2 vols. Silver Spring, MD: Ellen G. White Estate, 1990–1994.
<i>SDABC</i>	See <i>ABC</i> .
<i>ST</i>	<i>The Signs of the Times.</i>
<i>T</i>	<i>Testimonies for the Church.</i> 9 vols. Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1868–1909.

- TA* *The Truth About Angels*. Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 1996.
- TM* *Testimonies to Ministers and Gospel Workers*. Mountain View, CA: Pacific Press, 1923.
- TMK* *That I May Know Him*. Washington, DC: Review & Herald, 1964.

APPENDIX B
ON THE UNIQUE HEADSHIP OF CHRIST IN THE CHURCH
A STATEMENT OF THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

Preamble

We, the faculty of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, affirm that Christ is the only Head of the Church (Eph 1:22; 5:23; Col 1:18). Therefore, while there exists legitimate leadership in the Church, no other human being may rightfully claim a headship role in the Church. As Head of the Church, Christ provides the ultimate manifestation of God’s love (Eph 5:23, 25), demonstrating and vindicating God’s moral government of love (Rom 3:4, 25–26; 5:8), and thus defeating the counterfeit government of the usurping “ruler of this world” (John 12:31; 16:11; cf. *DA* 758; *2T* 2:211).

God’s Moral Government of Love

Christ’s headship in the Church is inextricably bound up with the love of God and is itself the ultimate explication of God’s love for the world (John 3:16; 15:13; Rom 5:8). As the sole “head of the church,” Christ “loved the church and gave himself up for her” (Eph 5:23, 25).¹ Christ’s demonstration of divine love as Head of the Church directly reflects God’s moral government of love, within which the law is a transcript of God’s character and, conversely, love is itself the fulfillment of God’s law (Matt 22:37–39; Rom 13:8; cf. *TMK* 366).

Since love requires moral freedom, God does not exercise His headship power or authority to coerce or determine the moral will of His created beings. God permitted rebellion, at the highest cost to Himself, because He desires willing obedience that is motivated by love rather than fear. Such voluntary obedience could not be obtained by the exercise of power or authority, but can only be freely given. In this way, God’s government is based on freely bestowed mutual love wherein God does not deterministically impose His will, but does hold intelligent creatures morally accountable to His perfect law of love.

Accordingly, rather than exercising His infinite power to unilaterally prevent or overturn the rebellion by removing the freedom necessary for a genuine love relationship, God has allowed the enemy’s counterfeit government to manifest itself, while actively demonstrating the nature of His moral government of love in direct and striking contrast. Whereas the enemy grasps for power and domination, Christ, who possesses all power, does not dominate, determine, or coerce but “made Himself of no reputation, taking the form of a bondservant [*doulos*] . . . He humbled Himself and became obedient to the point of death, even the death of the cross” (Phil 2:7–9, NKJV). In this way, Christ, the unique Head of the Church, “demonstrates His own love toward us, in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us” (Rom 5:8). Consequently, God’s government of unselfish love is clearly and supremely manifested.

46 *The Great Controversy between Christ and Satan*

47 The Great Controversy originated with Satan's direct attack against the nature
48 and role of Christ in heaven, seeking to displace Christ and exalt himself to be
49 like God (Isa 14:12–14; [Original page 2] Ezek 28:12–19; cf. Rev 12:7–9).
50 In the history of the Great Controversy, the usurping "ruler of this world"
51 (John 12:31; 14:30; 16:11; cf. 2 Cor 4:4), although defeated at the cross,
52 continues his quest to exalt himself by dominating others. He attempts to
53 replace God's government of love with an alternative form of government that
54 grasps for a domineering, self-seeking authority. He seeks to replace Christ
55 as the Head (2 Thess 2:3–4), injuring both Christ, the sole Head of the true
56 Church, and Christ's corporate body, His Church.

57 From the second century onward, post-Apostolic Christianity gradually
58 implemented a system of church government that reflected Rome's conception
59 of authority as the power to arbitrarily command and coerce obedience and
60 replaced the headship of Christ with the headship of mere humans. This
61 counterfeit system of church governance was (1) hierarchical, based on a chain
62 of command with a monarchical bishop at the "head" of the Church, with
63 complete and final control over its affairs; (2) sacramental, meaning that the
64 spiritual life of believers, including their very salvation, depended on ordained
65 clergymen; (3) elitist (i.e., sacerdotal), meaning that the rite of ordination
66 (laying on of hands) infused the clergy with special powers; and (4) headship-
67 oriented, meaning that those who received the rite of ordination were thereby
68 married to their Church and thus took on "headship" roles in the Church in
69 place of Christ the Head ("*in persona Christi Capitis*"; cf. *Vicarius Filii Dei*, "in
70 the place of the Son of God").

71 This system of government has been implemented in various forms,
72 amounting to the usurpation of Christ's headship in the Church by mere
73 humans. Indeed, this very system is that of the sea beast of Revelation 13–14
74 that was granted power and authority by the dragon (13:2, 4), counterfeits
75 the resurrection of Christ (13:3), accepts the world's worship along with the
76 dragon (13:4, 8), blasphemes against God and His sanctuary, and exercises
77 worldwide authority to persecute God's people (13:5–7). This antichrist
78 power which usurps the role of Christ on earth in keeping with the ancient
79 attempt by Satan to replace Christ in heaven, seeks to destroy the everlasting
80 gospel and ultimately commands obedience and enforces false worship. This
81 culminates in severe persecution of those who refuse to worship the beast and
82 his image, the remnant who keep the commandments of God and have the
83 faith of Jesus, those who place no confidence in mere humans with regard to
84 their salvation (Rev 13:6–8; 14:6–12).

85 The antichrist system of church government sets the stage for the
86 climactic events of the final conflict in Revelation by, among other things:
87 (1) asserting authority to appoint humans to Christ-replacing headship
88 positions in the Church on earth (globally and locally), (2) thereby
89 claiming to uniquely possess authority to interpret and teach Scripture and
90 thus have the final word on all matters of doctrine and ecclesial practice

while (3) wielding the spiritual power and authority to command and coerce obedience using both spiritual and civil tools. 91
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This system of government stands in direct contrast to Christ’s headship and His teaching on the nature of the authority of Church leaders. Christ reflected God’s moral government of love by exemplifying service leadership (Matt 20:28; Mark 10:45), including a kind of authority that does not seek to subject the wills of others or enforce obedience. Rather, it leads by the example of service and unselfish love, which draws (rather than compels) [Original page 3] others to willing service in love (Gal 5:13). All authority “in heaven and on earth” was given to Christ (Matt 28:18), but Christ does not remove graciously endowed free will and force His created human beings into obedience, but “loved [us] and gave Himself up for us” (Eph 5:2). The closest the Church comes to acts of enforcement is when it engages in discipline as a corporate body based on very clear teachings of Scripture. Such discipline is not the responsibility of any one person, or even a small group, but must be an action of at least the local congregation. Even then, such discipline does not result in coercion, but in restricting the individual from privileges of membership for a time in order to allow them to come to repentance and restoration (Matt 18:12–17; 1 Cor 5:5). 93
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Church members (including but not limited to Church leaders) are called to follow Christ’s example of unselfish love (Eph 5:1). They are to have the mind of Christ, which includes the willingness to humble oneself and take on the role of a slave (*doulos*; Phil 2:5–8), or servant (*diakonos*) of Christ (Matt 20:26), even as He humbled Himself to the point of death. Whereas the leaders in the Roman Empire of Christ’s time “lord it over them, and their great men exercise authority over them” (Matt 20:25), it is not to be so with God’s people but “whoever wishes to become great among you shall be your servant [*diakonos*], and whoever wishes to be first among you shall be your slave [*doulos*]” (Matt 20:26–27). 110
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“For even the Son of Man did not come to be served, but to serve, and to give His life a ransom for many” (Mark 10:45). Thus, the one who would be great is the one who is the slave [*doulos*] of all (Mark 10:44), and the “greatest among you shall be your servant [*diakonos*]” (Matt 23:11; cf. 9–12). The Bible outlines essential roles of leadership and authority in the Church. However, all leadership within the Church must be servant leadership. First Peter 5:1–3, 5–7 adroitly balances the affirmation of leadership within the Church with the humility that such leadership entails: “Therefore, I exhort the elders among you, as *your* fellow elder and witness of the sufferings of Christ . . . shepherd the flock of God among you, exercising oversight not under compulsion, but voluntarily, according to *the will of* God; and not for sordid gain, but with eagerness; nor yet as lording it over those allotted to your charge, but proving to be examples to the flock. . . . You younger men, likewise, be subject to *your* elders; and all of you, clothe yourselves with humility toward one another, for God is opposed to the proud, but gives grace to the humble. Therefore humble yourselves under the mighty hand of God, that He may exalt you at the proper time” 120
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137 (Cf. *AA* 359–60; *DA* 817). Accordingly, Church leaders should be humble
138 servants. At the same time they should be respected and deeply appreciated
139 for their diligent labor (1 Thess 5:12; 1 Tim 5:17; cf. Heb 13:7) even as
140 they also show proper respect to others by demonstrating the mutual love
141 and regard for others that is to take place among all Christians (1 Pet 2:17).ⁱⁱ

142 The authority of those leading the Church is conveyed to them by the
143 Church. This authority is delegated by Christ to His Church and implemented
144 through its representative system. Thus appointed leaders become stewards of
145 a power that should be exercised on behalf of Christ and for the benefit of
146 those they lead. The functionality of authority does not negate equality among
147 the members given to the Church by Christ. As the Spirit leads the body of
148 Christ, not just the few in leadership, those leading out should seek to allow
149 their decisions to be guided, insofar as possible, by the wisdom and insight
150 of the group. As [Original page 4] a Church, we thus give decision-making
151 authority not to any single president or chairperson, but to committees,
152 where those that lead the group are seeking the wisdom and, where possible,
153 consensus of the group.

154 God’s remnant, then, will treasure a system of Church government,
155 authority, and leadership that reflects (as much as is humanly possible) the
156 ideal of God’s government of love, within which moral freedom is cherished
157 and leaders are the humble servants of all, even as Christ gave Himself up
158 for all. This very kind of humble servant leadership, grounded in love, was
159 perfectly modeled by Christ who, as unique “head of the church . . . loved the
160 church and gave Himself up for her” (Eph 5:23, 25), supremely exemplifying
161 God’s character and moral government of love.

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The Unique and Non-Transferable Headship of Christ

164 Scripture affirms that the Son is eternally equal with the Father and the
165 Spirit (Col 2:9; Heb 1:3; Matt 28:19; John 1:1; 5:18; 8:58; 14:9; Phil 2:6;
166 Rom 9:5; Col 1:15–17; *DA* 469, 530; *GC* 495; *7ABC* 437–40; *TM* 252;
167 *TA* 209; *RH* April 5, 1906). Scripture also affirms the temporary voluntary
168 functional subordination of Christ the Son in order to accomplish the
169 salvation of humanity (John 5:19; 8:28, 54; 14:10, 28; 17:5; Phil 2:7–11;
170 Col 1:18–20; Eph 1:23; Heb 1:8; 1 Cor 15:20–28; Isa 9:6–7; Dan 7:13–14;
171 Rev 11:15; *PP* 34; *RH*, Oct 29, 1895; *RH*, June 15, 1905; *FLB* 76). The
172 interpersonal relationships within the Trinity provide the ultimate model of
173 love and self-sacrifice for us. As such, they do not furnish a model for a top-
174 down governmental structure for human leadership within the Church.

175 According to Scripture, Christ is the only Head of the Church and the
176 human members of Christ’s Church collectively (male and female) make
177 up the body of Christ (Eph 1:22–23; 5:23; Col 1:18; 2:19; cf. 1 Cor 11:3;
178 Col 2:10). Likewise, Ellen White counsels: “Christ, not the minister, is the
179 head of the church” (*ST* Jan. 27, 1890), and “Christ is the only Head of the
180 church” (21*MR* 274; cf. *DA* 817, *GC* 51). Neither Scripture nor the writings
181 of Ellen White apply the language of headship in the Church to anyone other

than Christ. Further, neither Scripture nor the writings of Ellen White endorse any transfer of the role of head in the home to roles within the Church body.

Since Christ is the only Head of the Church, no other can be head of the Church. That is, headship in the Church is unique to Christ and is non-transferable. All those who would follow Christ's method of ministry cannot do so by taking on His role of headship in the Church but by serving others in accordance with the "mind of Christ" (cf. Phil 2:5) and God's moral government of love. Deviation from the unique headship of Christ in the Church follows the enemy's practice of domination and counterfeit government, which directly contradicts and opposes God's moral government of love.

Accordingly, the role of "head" in the home (Eph 5:23) is not transferable to the realm of the Church. Indeed, the idea that the role of "head" in the home would or should transfer to other realms is a fallacious *non sequitur* (that is, the transfer from one realm to another does not follow logically). For example, one's role in the home obviously does not translate into a similar or analogous role in one's workplace.

[Original page 5] Beyond the logical problems inherent in the move from head of the home to headship in the Church, two demonstrably biblical rationales exclude such a transfer. First, as already noted, Christ is the *only* Head of the Church. Any attempt at proliferation of "heads" in the Church is thus unacceptable for it is a step toward usurping the unique headship role of Christ, who is the only mediator between God and humans. It is unscriptural to speak of any kind of headship in the Church apart from that of Christ.

No inspired writer teaches the headship of man over woman at the Creation. Rather, Genesis 1 teaches us that male and female participate equally in the image of God, with no hint of pre-fall subordination of one to the other (Gen 1:27). Genesis 2 reinforces Genesis 1 in this regard. Eve's creation from Adam's side shows that she is "to stand by his side as an equal" (Gen 2:21–22; *PP* 46). Although various interpretations of Gen 3:16 have recognized some kind of post-fall disruption of this pre-fall egalitarian ideal, the Bible consistently calls us back to God's original plan for full equality without hierarchy (Song 7:10; Isa 65:17, 25; cf. Gen 1:29–30). Paul's writings, though often misunderstood (2 Pet 3:16), maintain this Eden model (Eph 5:21–23), affirming with the rest of Scripture the Gospel ideal of the ultimate restoration of the Eden model (cf. Matt 19:8; 2 Cor 5:17; Gal 3:28). Ellen White also underlines this redemptive paradigm: "Woman should fill the position which God originally designed for her, as her husband's equal" (*AH* 231). "The Lord desires His ministering servants to occupy a place worthy of the highest consideration. In the mind of God, the ministry of men and women existed before the world was created" (18*MR* 380). "Infinite wisdom devised the plan of redemption, which places the race on a second probation by giving them another trial" (3*T* 484; cf. *PP* 58–59, and 1*T* 307–308).

Second, every member of the Church is part of the body of Christ, who is the One Head. Since each member of the Church (male or female) is a part of the body of Christ, a member cannot at the same time exercise headship in the Church. In the same way, since Christ is the unique Husband of the Church

228 (Christ's metaphorical bride), the members of the Church cannot themselves
229 be husbands of the Church but collectively, men and women together, are
230 the bride of Christ. That the Church as family of God is analogous to human
231 families only serves to suggest that humans should manifest the love of God
232 in their family relationships even as Christ does in relationship to His bride.

233 Within the body of Christ, the only Head of the Church, every member
234 of the Church body receives spiritual gifts: the Spirit gives to "each one
235 [*hekastos*] individually just as He wills" (1 Cor 12:11). The Holy Spirit is
236 given to all believers at the time of the end: "And afterwards, I will pour
237 out my Spirit on all people. Your sons and daughters will prophesy, your
238 old men will dream dreams, your young men will see visions. Even on my
239 servants, both men and women, I will pour out my Spirit in those days"
240 (Joel 2:28–30 NIV). Within this very context, Scripture emphatically
241 excludes the notion of elitism within the Church body of Christ, proclaiming
242 that "we were all baptized into one body, whether Jews or Greeks, whether
243 slaves or free, and we were all made to drink of one Spirit. For the body
244 is not one member, but many" (1 Cor 12:13–14; cf. Gal 3:28). Thus, no
245 member of the body is "any the less *a part* of the body" regardless of one's role
246 (1 Cor 12:15–16) and, indeed, those that are deemed "less honorable, on these
247 we bestow more abundant honor" (1 Cor 12:23). [**Original page 6**] In all this,
248 every gift and ministry is nothing without love, for "the greatest of these is love"
249 (1 Cor 13:13; cf. all of chapter 13; cf. Rom 12:3–10; Eph 4:11–16). Here again,
250 the unselfish love that is central to God's moral government should be reflected
251 in humble service to one another within Christ's body and bride, the Church.

252 This is reflected in Seventh-day Adventist Fundamental Belief No. 14,
253 "Unity in the Body of Christ," which reads in part: "The church is one body
254 with many members, called from every nation, kindred, tongue, and people.
255 In Christ we are a new creation; distinctions of race, culture, learning, and
256 nationality, and differences between high and low, rich and poor, male and
257 female, must not be divisive among us. We are all equal in Christ, who by one
258 Spirit has bonded us into one fellowship with Him and with one another; we
259 are to serve and be served without partiality or reservation."

260 There is no third category between the Head and body of Christ, or
261 between the corresponding bridegroom (Christ) and bride (the Church). The
262 minister is not to be separate from the body of Christ, but is likewise a member
263 of Christ's body and thus plays a non-elitist role in service to and alongside
264 the other members that corresponds to the individual's Spirit-bestowed gifts
265 and accords with the priesthood of all believers (1 Pet 2:5–9; Rev 1:6; 5:10;
266 cf. Ex 19:5–6). Because it is the Spirit who gives gifts to each one (male
267 and female) as He wills (1 Cor 12:11; cf. 12, 18, 19, 27–31; Joel 2:28–29;
268 Acts 2:18; Rom 12:4–8; Eph 4:11–12; 1 Pet 4:10), the Church confers no
269 spiritual powers or gifts on anyone but merely recognizes the gifts that God has
270 granted and facilitates corresponding opportunities for ministry within the body
271 of Christ. Leadership ministries within the Church are facilitated by the Church
272 body as a recognition of the particular Spirit-given gifts and characteristics
273 of servant leadership that reflect God's moral government of unselfish love

(cf. Phil 2:5–8). In this way, both individually and collectively the Church is to complete its mission of proclaiming the Three Angels’ Messages and revealing God’s character of love, the last revelation of God’s mercy to the world (COL 415).

In sum, any form of headship claimed by a mere human, whether male or female, usurps the sole headship of Christ over the Church. Christian service, including Church leadership, is to reflect but never usurp Christ’s leadership. Thus, while Christ’s *manner of leadership* is to be reflected by believers, Christ’s *particular role of leadership* is unique and not to be encroached upon by any mere human. Christ alone is the Head of the Church body, of which all Christians are members and submitted to Him.

No human leader, then, may rightfully assume a headship role within the Church; the highest level to which any leaders can “ascend” corresponds directly to the depths to which they are willing to descend in loving and humble service, giving themselves for Christ’s body even as Christ gave himself for his body and bride, his beloved Church, the object of “His supreme regard” (2SAT 215).

Affirmations and Denials

1. We affirm that there is only one Head of the Church, Christ, and this headship in the Church is non-transferable and inimitable. Thus, Christ’s particular role of [Original page 7] leadership is unique.
2. We deny that any human can rightly assume a headship role within the Church.
3. We affirm that leadership in the Church should be modeled after Christ’s servant leadership and grounded in love, with the recognition that Christ’s manner of leadership is to be reflected by Christian leaders.
4. We deny any Church government that results in sacramental, elitist, and headship-oriented leadership, which are counterfeits of Christ’s moral government of love and usurp His unique role and authority as Head of the Church (His body) and husband of the Church (His wife).
5. We affirm that Church leaders possess stewardship responsibilities of the affairs of the Church, carrying out the decisions of the Church made in committee and business sessions.
6. We deny that any mere human is invested with final decision-making authority in regards to Church teaching, ritual, or doctrine.
7. We affirm the priesthood of all believers along with the high priesthood of Christ and that no other mediator is needed between God and humans.
8. We deny any elevation of Church leaders as mediators between God and humans or as head of or in the Church.

ⁱUnless indicated otherwise, the biblical text is quoted from the *New American Standard Bible* (1995).

ⁱⁱIt is worth noting that some statements that refer to leadership roles within the Church use language that many English versions translate as “rule.” For example, 1 Tim 5:17 states: “The elders who rule [*proestōtes* from the root *proistemi*] well are to be considered worthy of double honor, especially those who work hard at preaching and

- 321 teaching” (cf. the similar use of this root in Rom 12:8; 1 Thess 5:12; 1 Tim 3:4–5, 12).
322 The root *proistemi*, here translated “rule,” literally refers to those who “stand before,”
323 beneficially leading and ministering to the community, and should not be confused with
324 some kind of monarchical rulership or sovereignty. In the LXX it refers to the household
325 “ministry” of a servant of the prince (2 Sam 13:17; cf. 1 Tim 3:4–5, 12) and the noun
326 form of this root, *prostatis*, refers to Phoebe’s ministry as *diakonos* (Rom 16:1–2).

APPENDIX C	1
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AN OPEN APPEAL FROM FACULTY, ALUMNI, STUDENTS, AND FRIENDS OF THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY	3 4 5
	6
TO FACULTY OF THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY REGARDING THE RECENT SEMINARY STATEMENT ON THE UNIQUE HEADSHIP OF CHRIST IN THE CHURCH	7 8 9
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<i>Preamble</i>	11
On August 21, 2014 the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary voted to approve a statement that affirmed and explained in detail “that Christ is the only Head of the Church (Eph 1:22; 5:23; Col 1:18).” The next day the online edition of the <i>Adventist Review</i> published an article about the Seminary statement and concluded that the faculty hoped the Andrews statement would help end some divisions among church members and would “prove to be a unifying influence in the church.”	12 13 14 15 16 17 18
The article had a link to the actual document which resulted in this statement becoming widely known. The reactions to the document have been mixed, with some approving, others disapproving, and still others expressing doubts. Instead of unifying church members it seems that the document has brought confusion in regard to the Biblical view of Christ’s headship and its implications for leadership under Christ in the church.	19 20 21 22 23 24
This appeal offers the views and concern of some current and retired seminary faculty, seminary alumni, students, and friends who disapprove of various aspects of the statement on the unique headship of Christ. It urges the faculty to reconsider their statement and adjust it so that it considers the full biblical counsel on this subject and be in harmony with the vital Protestant and Adventist principle of “the Bible and the Bible only.”	25 26 27 28 29 30 31
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<i>Problematic Arguments</i>	
The recent Seminary statement points out that God’s moral government is based on love. In the great controversy between Christ and Satan, this government of love is most clearly contrasted with the oppressive control that has manifested itself especially in the development of the historic antichrist, the vast structure of church government seen in the Roman Catholic Church. We fully agree about the danger of this unbiblical headship model of the papacy—in which the headship of Christ is replaced with that of the pope as the vicar of Christ, the Son of God—and its apostolic succession.	33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40
However, we need to be careful not to project this distorted Catholic model onto the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Although in some regions of the world the Adventist leadership may demonstrate a certain authoritarianism, this is not the servant leadership model that has been taught in and by the church and is practiced in many areas. We fully agree that Christ’s headship is absolute. However, the arguments in the Seminary document to support His headship role are at times problematic, giving rise to serious misunderstandings and confusion.	41 42 43 44 45 46 47

48 While we concur that Christ's headship is absolute, for every knee
49 shall bow to Him as King of kings and Lord of lords (Rom 14:10–11;
50 Phil 2:10–11), we see the need to recognize that Scripture is clear that Christ
51 has delegated leadership responsibility for His church to ministers and elders
52 as undershepherds in His stead with His authority. We question the [**Original**
53 **page 2**] following arguments the Seminary statement uses to support the idea
54 that the headship of Christ is non-transferable.

55

56 1. The Seminary statement argues that the interpersonal relationship within
57 the Trinity is not a model for a governmental structure for human leadership
58 within the Church (p. 4).

59 Reply: On the contrary, the Bible points to this relationship in salvation
60 history within the Trinity as a guide for the church, even in its leadership.
61 Jesus declared that the relationship between His followers should resemble the
62 relationship existing between the Himself and the Father (John 17:21–23).
63 In a similar way, in 1 Corinthians 11:3 Paul parallels the relationship male
64 believers have to Christ with the relationship that Christ has to the Father,
65 employing the concept of headship within the Godhead and between men and
66 women in the church: "But I want you to know that the head of every man is
67 Christ, the head of woman *is* man, and the head of Christ *is* God" (NKJV).

68 Here the Bible teaches that headship and submission are principles of
69 heaven belonging to the Godhead, and that on earth human beings have been
70 created to reflect these principles because they bear the image of God. This
71 issue of headship has important implications for the church. In this passage
72 Paul refers to the principle of headship to address a problem regarding the
73 way that men and women worship in the church (1 Cor 11:4, 5, 16). He
74 is not addressing relations between husbands and wives in the home as we
75 find in Eph 5. In both contexts, Paul bases his instructions on the pre-fall
76 circumstances of Gen 2 (see 1 Cor 11:8–9; Eph 5:31), not the cultural norms
77 of Corinth or of the Greco-Roman world. In 1 Corinthians 11, the headship
78 of Christ and that of God the Father form the pattern for the headship of the
79 man-woman relationship in the church, just as Christ's headship in relation
80 to the church forms the pattern for the headship of husband to wife in the
81 home in Ephesians 5:23–24. Since the context of 1 Corinthians 11 is clearly
82 the church and not the home, this passage is significant for our understanding
83 of gender relationships in the church.

84

85 2. The Seminary statement argues that neither the Scriptures nor the writings
86 of Ellen G. White endorse any transfer of the role of head in the home to roles
87 within the Church body (p. 4).

88 Reply: The Bible uses the pattern of leadership in the home as a model
89 and qualifier for church leadership. When we use the Protestant and
90 Adventist principles of Biblical interpretation for formulating doctrine by
91 comparing Scripture with Scripture, we discover that there is an intimate
92 connection between leadership in the home and leadership in the church (see
93 esp. 1 Tim 3:5, 15). Toward the end of his life, Paul mandates the necessary

qualifications for male elders, who are to be the leaders of the church, to oversee its operations. In two separate instances he points out that one of the crucial qualifications for this role is that the church needs successful, proven leadership in the home first (1 Tim 3: 4, 5; Titus 1:6). Only those who demonstrate successful leadership of their homes would qualify for the office of overseer/minister to serve the church in loving leadership. The home is the smallest unit of the church, and a godly, loving father in the family indicates eligibility for being a godly leader in the church. According to Paul, being the spiritual head of the home (Eph 5:23) is indeed the key that determines if one is suitable for spiritual leadership in the church because the church is a collection of families who come together for worship on a weekly basis.

[Original page 3] Ellen G. White also makes this point that shepherds who fail at home will fail as shepherds/ministers of the church: “He who is engaged in the work of the gospel ministry must be faithful in his family life. It is as essential that as a father he should improve the talents God has given him for the purpose of making the home a symbol of the heavenly family, as that in the work of the ministry, he should make use of his God-given powers to win souls for the church.” She continued, “As the priest in the home, and as the ambassador of Christ in the church, he should exemplify in his life the character of Christ. He must be faithful in watching for souls as one that must give an account. . . . He who fails to be a faithful, discerning shepherd in the home, will surely fail of being a faithful shepherd of the flock of God in the church.—6MR 49” (PaM 88, 89).

3. The Seminary statement argues that headship in the Church is unique to Christ and is non-transferable (p. 4).

Reply: As we have seen above, though the headship of Christ is indeed unique (i.e., special), unique here does not mean singular, or only. Jesus clearly calls some people to leadership in the church. What, then, does the statement mean by “non-transferable” headship? Certainly we all agree that the role of Christ as the only mediator between God and humans is non-transferable. The question that really needs to be answered though is this, “In what way does Christ rule or lead the church?” The Bible shows that in the operation of the church, Christ as the Great Shepherd, delegates some authority to His undershepherds who meet specific biblical qualifications. Some examples of such leaders under Christ are Moses, Joshua, David, the Twelve Apostles, Paul, Barnabas, Timothy, Titus, and the elders appointed by these leaders in every newly established church. These elders were undershepherds. The apostle Peter cautioned these them, “Shepherd the flock of God which is among you, serving as overseers, not by compulsion but willingly, not for dishonest gain but eagerly; nor as being lords over those entrusted to you, but being examples to the flock; and when the *Chief* Shepherd appears, you will receive the crown of glory that does not fade away” (1 Pet 5:2–4, emphasis supplied; AA 525, 526).

The relationship between Christ and the elders/overseers is that of the Chief Shepherd to the undershepherds. These leaders receive their authority from Christ under whose authority they function in accordance with His word.

140 Christ delegates leadership authority in the church to these officers. Ellen
141 White shows the relationship between Christ and His ordained leadership
142 as follows, “The great Head of the church superintends His work through
143 the instrumentality of men ordained to act as His representatives” (AA 360).
144 Elsewhere she states, “Christ remains the true minister of His church, but He
145 delegates His power to His under-shepherds, to His chosen ministers, who
146 have the treasure of His grace in earthen vessels. God superintends the affairs
147 of His servants, and they are placed in His work by divine appointment”
148 (ST, April 7, 1890). This does not usurp the unique role of Christ as the only
149 mediator between God and humans (1 Tim 2:5), which Paul makes clear
150 before setting forth instructions on church worship and church leadership
151 (1 Tim 2:8–3:15).

152 In the Seminary statement, the headship of Christ in relation to the
153 headship/leadership of the New Testament offices is not carefully presented.
154 Christ’s headship is presented in such a way as to downplay any authority
155 ministers may have as His chosen representatives. But, as Ellen White
156 points out, Paul identifies these (along with himself) as Christ’s ambassadors
157 [**Original page 4**] (see 2 Cor 5:20): “Since His ascension, Christ the great
158 Head of the church, has carried forward His work in the world by chosen
159 ambassadors, through whom He speaks to the children of men, and
160 ministers to their needs. The position of those who have been called of God
161 to labor in word and doctrine for the upbuilding of His church, is one of
162 grave responsibility. In Christ’s stead they are to beseech men and women
163 to be reconciled to God” (GW 13). Ambassadors carry the same authority
164 as the person they represent. To overlook the New Testament evidence for
165 this authority (e.g., 1 Cor 9:18; 2 Cor 10:8, 13–14; 13:10; 1 Tim 5:17;
166 Titus 2:15; Heb 13:17; see also AA 360) leads to incorrect conclusions.

167 In the New Testament Christ’s delegated authority was not centered
168 in any one person. The apostles did not appoint a single leader for the
169 church, but a plurality of leaders as they “appointed elders in every church”
170 (Acts 14:23). Already in the 1850s, Adventists realized the need for credentialed
171 ministers (see EW 97–104). By 1863 in the face of divergent personalities
172 and fanatics, they sensed the need for even more “gospel order,” and gave
173 authority to an elected leader. In no way was this “president” to resemble
174 the antichrist power, yet they realized that the church, for organizational and
175 functional reasons needed solid leadership.

176 In time Adventists have accepted the concept that the highest authority
177 on earth is not vested in individuals or small committees but in the voice
178 of the General Conference session when all the delegates throughout the
179 world are assembled. Yet this does not do away with leadership authority
180 in the local churches at various levels of church organization. Elders have
181 spiritual teaching authority as overseers, according to the New Testament
182 (1 Tim 2:12; 3:2; 4:11; Titus 2:15; Heb 13:7, 17, 24).

4. The Seminary statement argues that no inspired writer teaches the headship of man over woman at Creation. It contends that before the fall, God established an egalitarian ideal of full equality without hierarchy between male and female, and that the Bible consistently calls us back to this ideal (p. 5).

Reply: The Seminary statement neglects very important aspects in this discussion of gender relationships. There are clear indications in both the Bible and the writings of Ellen White that Adam had a leadership role before the entrance of sin, one that continued after the fall, because both are created in the image of God. This view is in harmony with the plain teaching of the apostle Paul with regard to the equal value of men and women as heirs of salvation (Gal 3:26–29). However, the expression “in the image of God” invites us to recall that at Creation Christ, as the Son of God, had already taken a position that included functional differences from God the Father. He was committed to the function of the Lamb of God that was to take away the sins of the world in the future by His death on the Cross (1 Pet 1:20; Rev 13:8). Functional differences were also reflected in God’s original design of the relationships between male and female as the rest of the Creation story reveals.

In Genesis 2 the Bible shows the different functions of Adam in relation to Eve. Again there is equality of nature and essence because Eve was created from Adam’s rib, indicating that she was to stand by her husband’s side as an equal—not to be inferior or superior (PP 46). Yet the chapter describes the functional differences of the couple by showing the priority of man being formed from the dust (Gen 2:7); how God put the man in the garden and gave instructions to him “to tend and keep it” (2:15); how God gave the command concerning what he could eat (2:16) and the warning about the forbidden tree (2:17). Then God [Original page 5] brought the animals and birds to Adam and gave him the responsibility of naming them (2:19). Finally, God created a woman from Adam’s rib and “brought her to the man” (2:21, 22), giving to Adam the privilege of also naming his companion (2:23). Further, God indicates that, in the marriage relationship, the man is to take the initiative by leaving his family and being joined to his wife (Gen 2:24; Matt 19:4–6). At this time Eve considers Adam “her husband” (Gen 3:6). Ellen White interprets the term “husband” to mean that “he is the house-band of the family, binding the members together, even as Christ is the head of the church and the Saviour of the mystical body [Eph 5:23]” (AH 215). Thus the internal evidence in Genesis prior to Adam’s fall reveals his leadership role and his responsibility toward the woman.

In the following statements Ellen White confirms Adam’s leadership role in the Garden of Eden: “Under God, Adam was to stand at the head of the earthly family, to maintain the principles of the heavenly family” (CT 33; 6T 236); “Adam was appointed by God to be monarch of the world, under the supervision of the Creator” (BE, Aug 28, 1899; cf. ST Apr 29, 1875; see also RH, Feb 24, 1874); “The Sabbath was committed to Adam, the father and representative of the whole human family” (PP 48); “Adam was lord in his beautiful domain” (FE 38). Although both were given dominion over the earth (Gen 1:26, 27), the leadership in this relationship was given to Adam.

229 “Adam was crowned king in Eden. To him was given dominion over every
230 living thing that God had created. The Lord blessed Adam and Eve with
231 intelligence such as He had not given to any other creature. He made Adam
232 the rightful sovereign over all the works of His hands” (SDABC 1:1078). Co-
233 leadership and representative roles and titles for Eve are completely missing
234 from the inspired writings. Adam alone is designated as representative and the
235 leader of the earthly family.

236 What type of relationship existed between the man and the woman at
237 this time? Here we need to follow an important rule of comparing Scripture
238 with Scripture by consulting the whole Bible to see if there are any other
239 references that describe the relationship between the man and the woman
240 in Genesis 2 before sin. We should definitely consult the New Testament
241 because “the New Testament explains the Old” (Ev 578).

242 As we have seen, Paul explains the headship/leadership principle of man
243 as “the head of the woman” (1 Cor 11:3) by referring to Genesis 2:18, 21–22,
244 stating that the man “is the image and glory of God; but the woman is the
245 glory of man. For man did not come from woman, but woman from man;
246 neither was man created for woman, but woman for man” (vv. 7–9). It is
247 therefore incorrect to say that no inspired author teaches the headship of man
248 over woman at creation, for Paul clearly teaches it in this passage. Elsewhere
249 the New Testament gives further evidence regarding these relationships. In
250 1 Timothy 2:12, 13, Paul again refers to the pre-fall situation of Genesis 2, on
251 which he bases the leadership principle that is to operate within the church.
252 God gave a leading role to the man before He created woman, which Paul
253 cites as the rationale for not permitting women “to teach or to have authority
254 [KJV: “to usurp authority”] over a man” in the church (1 Tim 2:12), because
255 it is “the house of God, . . . the church of the living God, the pillar and
256 ground of the truth” (1 Tim 3:15). The apostle had already established the
257 link between home and church in connection with the qualifications for
258 elders: “For if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take
259 care of the church of God?” (1 Tim 3:5).

260 **[Original page 6]** After the fall recorded in Genesis 3, Adam’s headship
261 role became even more pronounced. It was only after Adam, as leader, followed
262 his wife in the path of disobedience and sinned that the eyes of both were opened
263 and they realized their sinful condition and resulting nakedness (Gen 3:7).
264 Next God came down to question Adam first (not Eve) as the responsible leader
265 (3:9–12). Only after this did He address the woman (3:13). Adam received the
266 death penalty, which consequently affected every human being (Rom 5:12;
267 1 Cor 15:22). Then he was expelled from the Garden, his wife also (Gen 3:24).

268 The fall of Adam and Eve brought a change to their relationship. Before the
269 fall, there was harmony. Eve gladly and willingly accepted Adam’s transparent
270 godly leadership, submitting without resentment or duress. However, once
271 their relationship was damaged and distorted by sin, it was necessary for God
272 to encourage Adam’s role by way of command. The principle itself had not
273 changed, but the woman must now accept his preeminent “rule” over her

(Gen 3:16), although her new sin-borne desire was to rule over him (note the similar meaning of the terms in the close parallel a few verses later, in Gen 4:7).²

This change was not in terms of two pre-fall heads being reduced to one, but in moving from the harmonious, willing cooperation with Adam’s loving, beautiful leadership to a different relationship that would include tension and rivalry within the human family between the two genders. As a result, harmony could only be preserved by the (now unnatural) submission of the woman to the man, since there can be only one head/leader in any relationship. Otherwise, there would be constant and open conflict over authority. This authority within the home (and also within the church family) is given by God, but it must never be demanded or used autocratically or abusively. Rather, it should be expressed in loving care for the wife, “just as Christ also loved the church and gave Himself for her” (Eph 5:25). That is the nature of the headship authority modeled by God and Christ (1 Cor 11:3; Eph 5:22–33).

To Adam God said, “Because you have heeded the voice of your wife” and eaten from the forbidden tree, the earth will be cursed and you will die (Gen 3:17, 19). Using again the interpretive principle of comparing Scripture with Scripture, we notice that the New Testament also teaches that Adam, as the leader, was held responsible for the entrance of sin into the human race—not Eve, despite her being the first to transgress God’s command: “Therefore, as through one man’s offense judgment came to all men, resulting in condemnation, even so through one Man’s righteous act the free gift came to all men, resulting in justification of life” (Rom 5:18). Clearly, Paul’s contrasting of Adam’s role with that of Christ is rooted in the fact that Adam was the responsible leader. Even though Adam followed the leadership of his wife in disobedience, the Bible continues to recognize Adam’s role as head of the human race.

In subsequent generations, following this divine design of headship, husbands occupied similar leadership roles. Ellen White writes, “In early times the father was the ruler and priest of his own family, and he exercised authority over his children. . . . His descendants were taught to look up to him as their head, in both religious and secular matters” (PP 141; see also Gen 18:19). The importance of this statement should not be underestimated. Here she designates the father of the family as the “head in both religious and secular matters,” which forms the basis for the New Testament model of the male spiritual leader in the [Original page 7] church, the spiritual family. Abraham, representative of God’s truth and father of true believers, followed this divine pattern. Ellen White adds, “This patriarchal system of government Abraham endeavored to perpetuate, as it tended to preserve the knowledge of God” (PP 141). Stressing the divine origin of this system, she continues, “It was a wise arrangement, which God Himself had made, to cut off His people, so far as possible, from connection with the heathen” (PP 141). From this quotation, one can conclude that the system of patriarchy as implemented by Abraham, the father of believers, was not a curse as many today want us to believe, but was intended to be a blessing that would protect God’s people against idolatry and apostasy so that “the true faith might be preserved in its purity by his descendants from generation to generation” (PP 142).

320 On the historical development of headship/leadership Ellen White
 321 comments, “In the beginning the head of each family was considered ruler
 322 and priest of his own household. Afterward, as the race multiplied upon the
 323 earth, men of divine appointment performed this solemn worship of sacrifice
 324 for the people” (LHU 25). So the leadership role moved beyond the family
 325 to priests functioning for the corporate people of God—the church in the
 326 wilderness. With Israel’s Exodus from Egypt, God established the nation
 327 of Israel as His kingdom on earth and appointed men to lead His people.
 328 From that time onward, the Bible reveals the installation of qualified men
 329 for service in leadership offices so that they might guide God’s people under
 330 His direction. The same Old Testament leadership pattern was repeated in
 331 the New Testament where the qualifications for leadership by elders and
 332 ministers is spelled out by the apostle Paul and was continued throughout
 333 the Christian church. Although distorted by apostasy in the church and the
 334 rise of the man of sin (2 Thess 2) distorted this arrangement, the Protestant
 335 Reformation restored the biblical leadership principle of an elder-led
 336 church. Later developments in Protestantism resulted in a distortion of this
 337 leadership model until the rise of the Great Second Advent Movement and
 338 its reestablishment in the Seventh-day Adventist Church. This headship/
 339 leadership model is fully biblical and will be successful when church leaders
 340 follow it with the humility and “mind of Christ” (Phil 2:5).

341
 342

Recommendations

343 In light of the above evidence from the Bible and the Spirit of Prophecy,
 344 we humbly appeal to the Seminary leadership and faculty to reconsider the
 345 recently-published statement and include our suggestions. We feel strongly
 346 about the reputation of the Seminary and are concerned that this statement,
 347 released on August 22, 2014, will not solve the current controversy over
 348 gender and leadership roles in the church. To the contrary, it may hurt
 349 the Seminary’s reputation, trust, and credibility among members in North
 350 America and worldwide, and may undermine our credibility among thinking
 351 scholars in other denominations.

352

353 *Current and retired faculty, alumni, students, and friends of the Seventh-day*
 354 *Adventist Theological Seminary, October 6, 2014*

355

356 [The list of names, titles, and affiliations of the twenty-four persons who
 357 endorsed “An Open Appeal” has been omitted.] [**Original page 8**]

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360 ¹Unless indicated otherwise, the biblical text is quoted from the *New King James*
 361 *Version*.

362 ²Paul Ratsara and Daniel K. Bediako, “Man and Woman in Genesis 1–3:
 363 Ontological Equality and Role Differentiation” (paper presented at the Theology
 364 of Ordination Study Committee, July 22–24, 2013), 39–42, <http://www.adventistarchives.org/man-and-woman-in-genesis-one-thru-three.pdf> (Accessed Sept.
 365 26, 2014)

366

THE RATIONALE FOR CANONICAL THEOLOGY: AN APPROACH TO SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY AFTER MODERNISM

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Abstract

What should systematic theology look like after modernism? Many recent answers to this question revolve around the communitarian turn, advocating the retrieval/*ressourcement* of Christian tradition in order to address the situation after the failure of modernity. While advancing a cogent criticism of modernism, however, communitarianism may jeopardize the functional priority of Scripture as canon. This article introduces and explains the rationale for canonical theological method as an alternative for the theological landscape after modernism.

Whereas communitarian approaches adopt a community-determined, normative, and extra-canonical interpretive arbiter of doctrine, canonical theology views the biblical canon as the uniquely authoritative and sufficient rule of doctrine. Toward providing the rationale for canonical theological method, this article briefly introduces the landscape of systematic theology after modernism, assesses some pertinent opportunities and challenges thereof, then introduces and briefly explains canonical theological method as a compelling way forward for systematic theology.

Keywords: theological method, canon, community, canonical theology, systematic theology, rule of faith, retrieval

Introduction

Systematic theology is defined and practiced in various, sometimes mutually exclusive, ways. Particularly since the rise of modernism led to a sharp separation of disciplines and an atomistic approach to biblical studies, the subject matter, sources, and methodology for doing systematic theology has been a matter of considerable dispute.¹ The modern separation of biblical studies and systematic theology, alongside widely accepted conclusions about the origin and nature

¹Throughout this essay, by modernism I have in mind (primarily) the quest for indubitable, neutral foundations and pure objectivity that engenders positivism. As Craig G. Bartholomew puts it: “Modernity is characterized by the privatization of religion and seeks to keep religion out of the public square, including education and scholarship, in which ‘neutral, objective reason’ is supposed to dominate” (*Introducing Biblical Hermeneutics: A Comprehensive Framework for Hearing God in Scripture* [Grand Rapids: Baker, 2015], 466).

of the Bible as incapable of yielding a coherent system, contributed to the isolation of much of systematic theology from biblical studies (and vice versa).²

Modernism itself has crumbled, however, leaving somewhat open the question: What should systematic theology look like after modernism? Various answers are being proposed, many of which revolve around the postmodern communitarian turn, advocating (among other things) the retrieval and *ressourcement* of Christian tradition in order to address the fractures of postmodernism.³ While advancing a cogent criticism of modernism, however, communitarianism jeopardizes the *functional* priority of Scripture as canon.⁴

This article introduces and explains the rationale for an alternative, canonical, theological method in light of the theological landscape after modernism. Canonical theology diverges from communitarian approaches regarding the relative theological authority and functions of canon and community.⁵ Whereas communitarian approaches adopt a community-determined, normative, and extra-canonical interpretive arbiter of doctrine, canonical theology views the biblical canon as the uniquely authoritative and sufficient rule of doctrine, to the exclusion of a normative extra-canonical interpretive arbiter, while also recognizing a robust but non-normative role for the community.⁶ Toward providing the rationale for canonical theology, this paper introduces the landscape of systematic theology after modernism, assesses some pertinent opportunities and challenges thereof, then introduces and briefly explains canonical theological method as a compelling way forward for Evangelical systematic theology.

Systematic Theology After Modernism?

Christian systematic theology, minimally defined as the study and articulation of an orderly and coherent account of Christian beliefs, has a long and

²See, in this regard, Michael C. Legaspi, *The Death of Scripture and the Rise of Biblical Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

³After the failure of modernism, then, there is an even greater diversity of views regarding how systematic theology should be practiced, if it should be practiced at all.

⁴In this essay, the “canon” refers to the sixty-six OT and NT books that are recognized most widely throughout Christianity (the common canonical core). I believe this canon has been correctly recognized (intrinsic canon) but not determined by the community (community canon). See Peckham, *Canonical Theology: The Biblical Canon, Sola Scriptura, and Theological Method* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016), 16–47. However, one need not subscribe to this view of the canon in order to implement the procedures of canonical theology.

⁵Various approaches in biblical studies and theology use the label “canonical” but depart in significant ways from one another and thus should not be conflated. Precisely what I mean by “canonical” theology will be explained further below.

⁶By communitarianism, then, I mean specifically any approach that adopts an extra-canonical normative arbiter. Criticism of communitarianism does not apply to the proper, robust role of the community, but refers to the ascription of a normative and determinative role for the community. On the proper and essential roles of the community (past and present), see Peckham, *Canonical Theology*, 60–61, 151–159.

rich history of deeply engaging and building upon Scripture.⁷ Since the Enlightenment, however, some scholars have viewed systematic theology (and other disciplines) through the bifurcating lens of modernism, relegating everything that came before as premodern and thus inferior.⁸ Claiming that the Bible was a primitive, unreliable, and self-contradictory collection of merely human opinions about the divine, modernistic liberal theology sought to build on the purportedly indubitable, universal, and neutral foundations of experience and reason.⁹

Modernism itself sprang from the quest for an indubitable and certain foundation for all knowledge, which Descartes thought he had found in the thinking subject (*res cogitans*). However, the strong or classical form of foundationalism of Descartes and others is now, according to Merold Westphal, “philosophically indefensible” and this is “so widely agreed that its demise is the closest thing to a philosophical consensus in decades.”¹⁰ Further, it is widely recognized that modernism’s attempt to remove “theological consensus” in order to “reveal a neutral territory” instead replaced “a certain view of God and creation with a different view which still makes theological claims” about “origins, purpose, and transcendence,” the “assumptions

⁷For an introductory overview, see Alister E. McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, 5th ed. (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011).

⁸Notably, however, there is no monolithic “premodern” view, but a host of views over the ages before the Enlightenment period.

⁹As James L. Kugel puts it, “modern scholarship” has reduced “Scripture to the level of any ordinary, human composition—in fact, arguing that it was in some cases even worse: sloppy, inconsistent, sometimes cynical, and more than occasionally deceitful” (*How to Read the Bible: A Guide to Scripture, Then and Now* [New York: Free Press, 2008], 667).

¹⁰Merold Westphal, “A Reader’s Guide to ‘Reformed Epistemology,’” *Per* 7.9 (1992): 11. Cf. idem, *Whose Community? Which Interpretation? Philosophical Hermeneutics for the Church*, *The Church and Postmodern Culture* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic), 2009. Notably, however, the failure of *classical* foundationalism does not extend to just any kind of foundationalism. Rather, “modest foundationalism,” which does not posit “indubitability” or “certainty [as] a necessary condition of knowledge,” is (in various forms) a prevalent view advocated by “contemporary epistemologists” (though it is not without its critics) (J. P. Moreland and Garrett DeWeese, “The Premature Report of Foundationalism’s Demise,” in *Reclaiming the Center: Confronting Evangelical Accommodation in Postmodern Times*, ed. Millard J. Erickson, Paul Kjoss Helseth, and Justin Taylor [Wheaton, IL: Crossway Books, 2004], 83–84). As Stanley J. Grenz himself notes amidst an ardent criticism of classical foundationalism, “nearly every thinker is in some sense a foundationalist,” that is, in the broad sense of recognizing and operating on “the seemingly obvious observation that not all beliefs (or assertions) are on the same level; some beliefs (or assertions) anchor others” and “certain beliefs (or assertions) receive their support from other beliefs (or assertions) that are more ‘basic’ or ‘foundational’” (“Articulating the Christian Belief-Mosaic: Theological Method after the Demise of Foundationalism,” in *Evangelical Futures: A Conversation on Theological Method*, ed. John G. Stackhouse, Jr. [Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000], 110).

and prejudices” of which “are no more objective or justifiable than those of the ancient and mediaeval philosophers and theologians.”¹¹ Whereas modernism expects “neutral objectivity,” the recognition of the unavoidable hermeneutical circle wherein the reader never comes to any text as a blank slate but *both* reader and text contribute to any resulting interpretation has led most theologians to recognize the “impossibility of such neutrality,” leaving open many questions about foundational theological matters.¹²

While modernistic liberalism deconstructed “premodern” views of Scripture and Scripture’s claims about reality, precipitating the massive shift away from the long-held belief in the trustworthiness and unity of Scripture as canon, some conservatives of the age countered with a (perhaps unintentionally) modernistic conservatism that attempted to demonstrate the claims of Scripture on purportedly objective, neutral, and scientific grounds.¹³ In biblical studies, some in both liberal and conservative camps adopted a hermeneutical positivism that expected to be able to arrive at the pure objective meaning of the text, provided it was studied from a “neutral” standpoint via “objective” methods.

This quest for neutral objectivity and the attendant denial of the hermeneutical “I,” however, turned out to be counterproductive as it tended to allow unrecognized presuppositions of, and influences on, the interpreter(s) to determine the results of analysis and interpretation, which were then mistakenly declared objective and therefore universally valid. Further, in light of its defunct modernistic foundations, many scholars have been increasingly critical of “historical criticism of the Bible,” which has “seemed to involve criticism of everything except itself.”¹⁴ “Postmodernity,” instead, “extends modern suspicion to include such criticism of critical methods.”¹⁵ Accordingly, Daniel Treier and other advocates of the theological interpretation of Scripture (TIS) seek “to reverse the dominance of historical

¹¹Simon Oliver, “Introducing Radical Orthodoxy: From Participation to Late Modernity,” in *The Radical Orthodoxy Reader*, ed. Simon Oliver and John Milbank (New York: Routledge, 2009), 6.

¹²Daniel J. Treier, *Introducing Theological Interpretation of Scripture: Recovering a Christian Practice* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), 34.

¹³See George A. Lindbeck’s highly influential framing and discussion of both modernistic approaches as the cognitive-propositionalist and experiential-expressive approaches, the former in reference to those tending to defend the “traditional orthodoxies” via a focus on “church doctrines” as “informative propositions or truth claims about objective realities,” and the latter of the “liberal commitment to the primacy of experience” and correlationist appropriation of the Enlightenment search for indubitable, universal, and neutral epistemological foundations (*The Nature of Doctrine: Religion and Theology in a Postliberal Age* [Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1984], 16, 113).

¹⁴Treier, *Introducing TIS*, 34.

¹⁵*Ibid.*

criticism over churchly reading of the Bible,” opening many avenues for the future of systematic theology after modernism.¹⁶

Theological Opportunities and Challenges After Modernism

The demise of modernism presents numerous opportunities and challenges for systematic theology. First, it provides an opportunity to reject the modern rejection of the Bible as a trustworthy, coherent, and properly *theological* document. The theologian does not need to approach Scripture with the pretense of neutrality, but may come in faith, seeking the Holy Spirit’s guidance toward better understanding.¹⁷ Indeed, given the widespread recognition that there is no neutral or universal epistemological starting point and every system begins with (defeasible) decisions regarding what to believe, one who adopts Scripture as theological rule (i.e., “canon”) has just as much epistemic right to that starting point as the one who adopts empiricism.¹⁸

The failure of modernism also presents an opportunity to move beyond the modernistic separation of disciplines and, in the process, challenge some of the presuppositions of modernistic approaches to exegetical and theological methodologies, particularly: (1) the tendency toward reading and interpreting Scripture atomistically with the presupposition of disunity and (2) the implicit (or explicit) hermeneutical positivism that expects certain methodologies to achieve a purely objective interpretation of the text as if it is being read from a neutral standpoint.¹⁹

Given the recognition that every reader’s subjectivity affects the reading of the text and the reading of the text affects the reader’s subjectivity (the hermeneutical circle), “hermeneutical positivism, with its exaltation of subjective annihilation,” supposition of a neutral standpoint, and “naïve

¹⁶Ibid., 14. Many other movements chart a similar path forward in this regard. See the discussion in Peckham, *Canonical Theology*, 73–108.

¹⁷In this regard, my view is in agreement with that of the emphasis of TIS on moving beyond modernistic approaches that excluded reading the Bible as a distinctively theological text and its attendant aim “to reverse the dominance of historical criticism over churchly reading of the Bible” (Treier, *Introducing TIS*, 14). Cf. Francis Watson, “Authors, Readers, Hermeneutics,” in *Reading Scripture with the Church: Toward a Hermeneutic for Theological Interpretation* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006), 120.

¹⁸That is, every system requires the adoption of some starting point, which is not to say all are equally viable. As Kevin J. Vanhoozer notes: “Instead of making robust claims to absolute knowledge, even [well-informed] natural scientists now view their theories as interpretations” (*Is There a Meaning in This Text? The Bible, The Reader, and the Morality of Literary Knowledge*, [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1998], 19). As such, given the failure of modernism, why should we continue to accept its claims about the canon or its claims about the supposed need to start from a neutral foundation that then could justify adoption of the canon? Notably, even on communitarian grounds, a strong case can be made for accepting the canon as the widest consensual rule among Christians. See, in this regard, Peckham, *Canonical Theology*, 193.

¹⁹See Bartholomew, *Introducing Biblical Hermeneutics*, 73.

objectivism” is “entirely untenable.²⁰ Theology is always done from some perspective that impinges upon the resulting interpretation.²¹ As such, Kevin Vanhoozer notes, “Hermeneutics involves more than a wooden application of methodological principles; hermeneutics requires good judgment.”²² Further, because everyone unavoidably brings some predisposition to their reading of the text, isolationism is detrimental to individuals attempting to practice it and to other Christians. Sustained engagement with historical theology and the contemporary community is essential to avoid narrow views, highlight blind spots, and, at times, be alerted to “some of the pitfalls we should avoid.”²³

Opposite the dangers of failing to move beyond hermeneutical positivism on one hand and isolationism on the other, however, is the converse danger of moving beyond both in a way that (unintentionally) subverts the rule of Scripture as canon by affording normativity to a community or community-determined rule. Moving beyond the modern liberalism vs. conservatism debate, numerous approaches seek to fill the void left by the failure of modernism via “the communitarian turn,” which has emerged as an increasingly popular way of doing theology among Protestants in recent decades.²⁴ Advanced as a way to ground doctrine in the absence of indubitable, universal, and neutral foundations and thus assuage fissiparous hermeneutical pluralism, communitarian approaches posit a normative, extra-canonical, interpretive arbiter.²⁵ This agenda of “retrieval” or “ressourcement,” which is

²⁰Thomas G. Guarino, *Foundations of Systematic Theology* (New York: T&T Clark, 2005), 194.

²¹As Bartholomew notes, the “history of the twentieth century and postmodernism have alerted us to the fact that neutral, objective reason is far from neutral but is itself invariably traditioned” (*Introducing Biblical Hermeneutics*, 466).

²²Vanhoozer, *Is There a Meaning*, 140. See the discussion of this relative to hermeneutical critical realism further below.

²³Grenz, “Christian Belief-Mosaic,” 126.

²⁴See *ibid.*, 121. Communitarian approaches, however, are by no means monolithic. Beyond the ancient Roman-Catholic and Orthodox communitarian approaches, a wide spectrum of Protestant communitarian approaches have put forth robust proposals for theologizing after modernism, some of the most prominent being postliberalism, posconservatism, TIS, consensual orthodoxy (aka paleo-orthodoxy), and radical orthodoxy. Whereas they each locate normative interpretive authority in some community or a community-determined arbiter, one crucial difference among communitarian approaches is between what John Franke calls “open confessional traditions,” which he advocates, and “closed confessional traditions,” the latter “hold[ing] a particular statement of beliefs to be adequate for all times and places” whereas the latter “understands its obligation to develop and adopt new confessions in accordance with shifting circumstances” (John R. Franke, “Scripture, Tradition, and Authority: Reconstructing the Evangelical Conception of *Sola Scriptura*,” in *Evangelicals & Scripture: Tradition, Authority, and Hermeneutics*, ed. Vincent Bacote, Laura C. Miguélez, and Dennis L. Okholm [Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2004], 206–207).

²⁵For example, D. H. Williams contends that “where no interpretative guide exists as a theological ‘court of appeal,’ hermeneutical fragmentation can be the only

“a return to the ancient sources of the faith for their own sake,”²⁶ has become so prevalent in Evangelical circles that Peter Leithart notes: “Evangelicalism is awash in the 3Rs: retrieval, renewal, and ressourcement.”²⁷

Although communitarian approaches provide cogent criticisms of modernism and advance some healthy correctives, they also raise considerable issues/questions in practice.²⁸ Whereas many such approaches recognize the primacy of Scripture *formally*, the adoption of a normative interpretive arbiter undercuts the *functional* authority of Scripture as canon. As McGrath contends, we must be careful to avoid “plac[ing] the authority of an interpreter of Scripture over that of Scripture itself. The priority of Scripture over all other sources and norms, including its interpreters, must be vigorously maintained.” Otherwise, “it is not Scripture that is infallible but a specific interpretation [or interpreter or interpretative community] of Scripture.”²⁹ Kevin Vanhoozer adds, “We should resist locating interpretative authority in community consensus, for even believing communities, as we know from the Old Testament narratives, often get it badly wrong, and to locate authority in the community itself is to forgo the possibility of prophetic critique.”³⁰

result” (*Retrieving the Tradition and Renewing Evangelicalism: A Primer for Suspicious Protestants* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999], 97–98). As such, an extra-canonical “rule of faith or norm for interpretation is essential if orthodox faith is to be achieved” (idem, *Evangelicals and Tradition: The Formative Influence of the Early Church* [Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005], 77). Cf. Thomas C. Oden, *The Rebirth of Orthodoxy: Signs of New Life in Christianity* (San Francisco: Harper, 2003), 161.

²⁶Williams, *Retrieving the Tradition*, 229. *Ressourcement* (aka *la nouvelle théologie*) was a renewal movement of Roman-Catholic thinkers who called for renewed reading of the Tradition (particularly patristic theology), which was influential upon the ecumenical trajectory of Vatican II. See Gabriel Flynn and Paul D. Murray, eds. *Ressourcement: A Movement for Renewal in Twentieth-Century Catholic Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012). In recent decades, this language has appeared regularly in numerous Protestant works that call for retrieval of the great Christian tradition.

²⁷Peter J. Leithart, “The Word and the Rule of Faith,” *First Things*, 2015, <http://www.firstthings.com/web-exclusives/2015/01/the-word-and-the-rule-of-faith>.

²⁸For further discussion of these, see Peckham, *Canonical Theology*, 103–108.

²⁹Alister E. McGrath, “Engaging the Great Tradition: Evangelical Theology and the Role of Tradition,” in *Evangelical Futures: A Conversation on Theological Method*, ed. John G. Stackhouse, Jr. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000), 151. Franke suggests that “closed confessional traditions” risk “transforming their creeds . . . into de facto substitutes for Scripture” (Franke, “Scripture,” 206). However, open confessional traditions might do likewise insofar as the contemporary community is appealed to as normative.

³⁰Kevin J. Vanhoozer, “The Voice and the Actor: A Dramatic Proposal About the Ministry and Minstrelsy of Theology,” in *Evangelical Futures: A Conversation on Theological Method*, ed. John G. Stackhouse, Jr. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000), 80. Williams, while strongly advocating communitarianism, recognizes that the “patristic tradition was not and is not infallible. None of the creeds that originated from that age is inerrant. Even the staunchest defender of the contemporary relevance of patristic resources will admit that not everything the patristic fathers taught is true or even valuable” (*Evangelicals and Tradition*, 78).

While community plays a crucial role, then, it is sometimes unclear just what that role is and how it *should* function theologically, particularly for those who wish to maintain the theological priority of Scripture as canon. Further, significant questions arise as to how to determine which community or community-determined arbiter should be normative and on whose interpretation.³¹ Whereas communitarian approaches aim at assuaging hermeneutical diversity in this way, whatever interpretive arbiter is adopted itself still requires interpretation. Hermeneutical diversity is not a problem of Scripture itself, but is the result of the universal hermeneutical situation that every communication requires interpretation (i.e., the unavoidable hermeneutical circle), which leads to some degree of inevitable hermeneutical diversity, even among competent interpreters. The quest to assuage hermeneutical diversity, whether via latent hermeneutical positivism or appeal to a normative hermeneutical arbiter, then, appears to be fueled by residual Cartesian anxiety over the failure of hermeneutical positivism and/or insufficient attention to the reality that all communication requires interpretation, which is unavoidably affected by the interpreter's conceptual framework. Indeed, there is a continued failure by many scholars to attend to the impact of individual and collective conceptual frameworks and their impact on interpretation at every level, particularly relative to overarching presuppositions that impinge upon how we view and interpret everything, which we will call macro-hermeneutical presuppositions.

Various overarching macro-hermeneutical presuppositions operate in past and present systematic theology, often without being consciously examined. Classical approaches tend to operate with a conceptual framework predicated on perfect being theology that is taken to be coincident with Scripture, some prominent forms of which posit a highly developed metaphysical framework that some believe is inconsistent with the framework that appears in Scripture (e.g., that of Neoplatonism).³² Alternatively, modernistic

³¹Even a living voice (*viva voce*) requires interpretation, as does all communication. See, further, Peckham, *Canonical Theology*, 128–130.

³²Furthermore, Bartholomew contends that unhelpful “allegorization [which allows Scripture to be treated like a wax nose] stems from a neoplatonic theology and is an obstacle to hearing the true spiritual sense present in the plain meaning of the text” (Bartholomew, *Introducing Biblical Hermeneutics*, 150). Numerous theologians from various perspectives have criticized the traditional “classical theism,” which holds that God is (among other things) simple, timeless, immutable, and impassible as being incompatible with Scripture and stemming from the extra-canonical framework of classical Greek philosophy. On the other hand, numerous theologians defend the classic tradition. Gerald L. Bray, for instance, contends that the Christian tradition was not corrupted by Greek philosophy while recognizing that “There is no doubt that the early Christians were influenced by the philosophical currents surrounding them” in order to address their contemporaries (“Has the Christian Doctrine of God Been Corrupted by Greek Philosophy?” in *God Under Fire: Modern Scholarship Reinvents God*, ed. Douglas S. Huffman and Eric L. Johnson [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002], 112). The debate among theologians on this issue is ongoing. It should be noted, in

liberal theology rejects the “canonical” priority of Scripture and adopts a conceptual framework that, among other things, does not allow Scripture to be read as a theological document. Postmodern communitarian approaches instead ground the conceptual framework in the community or community adopted extra-canonical norms through which Scripture is read. Without assuming the falsehood of such conceptual frameworks *a priori*, however, the *methodological* adoption of any of these groundings of macro-hermeneutical presuppositions short-circuits the *functional* priority of Scripture as canon and *may* thereby undercut and replace the conceptual framework of Scripture and short-circuits the functional priority of Scripture as canon.

Canonical theology offers an alternative proposal regarding the derivation of macro-hermeneutical principles. It contends that the interpreter and interpretative community should continually seek to shape their conceptual framework via engagement with the canon itself in a continual hermeneutical *spiral*. This spiral consists of going back and forth between individual texts/pericopes and the wider canon toward mutually informing one another and, in turn, informing and reforming (where necessary) the interpreter’s own conceptual framework, with the goal of moving ever closer to the intended meaning *in* the text.³³

Canonical Theology as a Way Forward After Modernism

A Canonical Approach

In order to see how canonical theology may provide a viable and compelling way forward after modernism in this and other respects, we must first understand the basic approach, hermeneutical commitments, and methodology of canonical theology.³⁴ Canonical theological method is a particular step-by-step method for mining and utilizing the common canonical core (shared by the vast majority of Christians), which is approached as a unified corpus that is (collectively) the uniquely infallible, trustworthy, and sufficient source and rule of theological doctrine and interpretation. Here, the entire canon is employed as the formal *and* functional rule of theology against which all interpretations thereof should be continually brought, without neglecting engagement with the wider Christian community, past and present, and without overlooking that there are other sources of revelation and knowledge and that all interpreters are fallible and unavoidably bring their own conceptual framework to interpretation.

Canonical theology thus rests on treating the canon as “canonical” in: (1) the basic sense of the term “canon” as rule or standard of theology, the norm over which there is no norm (under God), hermeneutical or otherwise;

this regard, that “classical theism” is by no means monolithic; some who self-identify as classical theists do not hold some or all of the tenets listed above.

³³Cf. Grant Osborne’s view, wherein “continuous interaction between text and system forms a spiral upward to theological truth” (*The Hermeneutical Spiral* [Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2006], 392).

³⁴For a more thorough presentation, see Peckham, *Canonical Theology*, 196–259.

(2) approaching and reading the canon as a unified (but not uniform) corpus; and (3) recognizing the canon as divinely commissioned (revealed and inspired) Scripture consisting of spiritual things that are spiritually discerned.³⁵ Put simply, employing Scripture as “canon” entails recognizing it as the divinely commissioned and thus unified corpus of writings that God has given as the rule or standard of theology, to be understood in subjection to the guidance of the Holy Spirit.³⁶

Canonical Goals: Correspondence and Coherence

Canonical theology aims at two criteria of adequacy: canonical correspondence and coherence. Canonical coherence seeks an internally consistent system, methodologically recognizing the canon’s claims to internal coherence via a sympathetic reading expecting congruence that nevertheless refuses to gloss over apparent tensions.³⁷ Canonical correspondence seeks the maximum achievable correspondence to the intention *in* the text that is discernible, demonstrable, and defensible.³⁸

³⁵That is, “canon” is the (1) divinely commissioned (2) rule, which is therefore a (3) unified corpus. As Kevin J. Vanhoozer puts it, there is a “properly theological unity implicit in the idea that God is the ultimate communicative agent speaking in Scripture,” the “divine author” of the canon (*The Drama of Doctrine: A Canonical-Linguistic Approach to Christian Theology* [Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2005], 177, 181). Accordingly, “we must read the Bible canonically, as one book. Each part has meaning in light of the whole (and in light of its center, Jesus Christ)” (*ibid.*, 178). Nevertheless, those who do not share this conviction might approximate some procedures of this approach by way of something like a new literary criticism approach to the final-form canon as a unified corpus, perhaps alongside the view that the final form of the canon was redacted in a way that the community saw as a single unified corpus.

³⁶As David Yeago puts it, recognizing “the biblical canon as inspired Scripture” means to approach “the texts as the discourse of the Holy Spirit, the discourse therefore of one single speaker, despite the plurality of their human authors” such that “the church receives the canon, in all its diversity, as nonetheless a *single* body of discourse” (“The Bible: The Spirit, the Church, and the Scriptures,” in *Knowing the Triune God*, ed. David Yeago and James Buckley [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001], 70). In this regard, precisely because humans are skilled at self-deception (Jer 17:9), spiritual discernment in communion with God is needed toward the cultivation of a sanctified mind (cf. 1 Cor 2).

³⁷In this regard, Vanhoozer’s application of Paul Ricoeur’s distinctions between *idem* as a “self-sameness” or “‘hard identity,’ where hard connotes immutability and permanence” and *ipse* identity, and “‘soft’ identity” as a “kind of sameness” that “partakes more of narrative than of numeric identity” are quite helpful (*Drama of Doctrine*, 127). Vanhoozer proposes that, as divinely authored but not dictated, the canon exhibits a unity of *ipse* identity, which allows for “development” and “growth” and is thus “entirely, and especially, compatible with the “pattern of promise and fulfillment” seen in OT and NT (e.g., the unity without uniformity manifest in the NT typological use of the OT) (*ibid.*, 128).

³⁸The intention *in* the text is the effect of the author’s intention (cause) in writing that text. The text inscripturates (to some degree) authorial intention,

In this regard, canonical theology seeks to properly recognize the impact of the unavoidable hermeneutical circle by aiming at the discernible intention *in* the text while recognizing that human interpretations entail a degree of indeterminacy such that competent interpreters may disagree.³⁹ Nevertheless, while rejecting hermeneutical positivism, canonical theology also strongly rejects hermeneutical relativism, insisting instead that there is determinate meaning that the author(s) intended to convey in the text and thus adopts hermeneutical (critical) realism—the view that determinate meaning exists in the text independent of interpretation and yet the interpreter brings his/her conceptual framework to the text such that explicating the intention in the text is an imperfect, complex, and continual process.⁴⁰ The interpreter's task is to ascertain (as well as one can) the intent that is preserved and discernible *in* the text, in keeping with textual controls that delimit the justifiable scope of interpretation.⁴¹ While competent interpreters may differ because hermeneutical

but the text itself is never identical to the fullness of intention in the author's consciousness at the precise time of writing. As such, appeal to intent beyond or behind the text is speculative and appears to be counterproductive. Here, a text is, by definition, written by someone for some purpose (i.e., with some intention). The task of interpretation is to understand, as best as one can, that intention as it is conveyed *in* the text (without attempting to arrive at the intention in the author's consciousness, which is not an available object of investigation). As such, in the words of Christopher Seitz, canonical reading "shares a concern for the objective reality of the text and for its intentional direction and ruled character" ("Canonical Approach," *Dictionary for Theological Interpretation of the Bible*, 100).

³⁹As Vanhoozer notes in rejecting hermeneutical positivism, "Texts may be determinate enough to convey meaning without being specifiable enough to overcome all ambiguity. . . . Literary knowledge, like its scientific counterpart, is both adequate (i.e., sufficient for the purpose of understanding and appropriating) and provisional (i.e., open to correction in the light of further enquiry)" (*Is There a Meaning*, 140).

⁴⁰See the discussion in *ibid.*, 26. Cf. Anthony C. Thiselton, *Hermeneutics: An Introduction* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 306–326. As such, canonical theology "seeks to navigate between the Scylla of wooden repetition [and hermeneutical positivism more broadly] and the Charybdis of interpretative anarchism [of hermeneutical pluralism]" (Guarino, *Foundations of Systematic Theology*, 194).

⁴¹While canonical theology recognizes that one's interpretation is always more than the determinate intention in the text (cf. Gadamer's fusion or horizons), it insists that the interpreter's horizon should continually be subjected to the canonical text, as far as possible. In this regard, Scripture "has its *own* horizon, we have *our* horizon, and there have been many, many horizons in between" (Bruce Ellis Benson, "Now I Would Not Have You Ignorant: Derrida, Gadamer, Hirsch and Husserl on Authors' Intentions," in *Evangelicals & Scripture: Tradition, Authority, and Hermeneutics*, ed. Vincent Bacote, Laura C. Miguélez, and Dennis L. Okholm [Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2004], 186). Nevertheless, with Benson, "I believe that there are authors, that they have intentions, that words express intentions and that readers and listeners are able to discern those intentions" (*ibid.*, 191).

diversity is not methodologically eliminable, they might nevertheless “come together and check one another against the standard of the Scripture.”⁴²

This goal of canonical correspondence is especially important since systematic theologians sometimes neglect exegetical studies, isolating their theological construction from exegetical considerations, resulting in theology that is not subjected to the rule of the canon. Conversely, *some* exegetes tend to neglect a systematic outlook, which may leave them unintentionally beholden to systematic presuppositions that unduly impact their interpretation (e.g., an alien conceptual framework). Canonical theology seeks to integrate exegesis and systematic theology under the rule of the canon.

Canonical Hermeneutics and Methodological Steps

Canonical hermeneutics brings micro- and macro-exegesis together systematically in a reciprocally correcting manner. Micro-exegesis refers to the procedures of grammatical-historical exegesis at the level of pericopes and macro-exegesis refers to interpretation that goes beyond a particular pericope toward seeking the canonical conceptual framework.⁴³ By these complementary levels of exegesis, canonical hermeneutics deliberately attends to the two operative hermeneutical circles of (1) the relation between the reader’s conceptual framework and the conceptual framework affirmed in the text and (2) the relation of the parts of the canon to the whole and vice versa. Micro-exegesis and macro-exegesis will be discussed in more detail below. For now, it is important to recognize that, because far more than methodological procedures are at work in doing theology, canonical hermeneutics entails commitments to: a humble interpretive posture and orientation toward the text and theology, the practice of ethical and charitable reading, and recognition of the limits of human language and interpretation.⁴⁴

With regard to the limits of human language, canonical theology seeks the maximal possible understanding of divine revelation, believing the canon’s claims that humans can understand *in part* while recognizing that our understanding is always incomplete and susceptible to misunderstanding

⁴²D. A. Carson, “The Role of Exegesis in Systematic Theology,” in *Doing Theology in Today’s World: Essays in Honor of Kenneth S. Kantzer*, ed. by J. D. Woodbridge and T. E. McComiskey (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1991), 53–54.

⁴³At both levels, the interpreter attempts to interpret the text in accordance with internal textual indicators. As such, biblical texts are interpreted according to their textually-indicated genre and thus are not treated as allegorical or mythological absent some textual indication. For a brief overview of the procedures of grammatical-historical interpretation and how they derive from and are congruent with the internal contents of the canon, see Richard M. Davidson, “Interpreting Scripture: An Hermeneutical ‘Decalogue,’” *JATS* 4.2 (1993): 95–114. While embracing grammatical-historical procedures, however, canonical theology departs from the separation of disciplines and atomistic approach to the text assumed in some iterations of the grammatical-historical method.

⁴⁴See the discussion of each of these in Peckham, *Canonical Theology*, 218–225.

(cf. 1 Cor 13:12).⁴⁵ Accordingly, ethical and charitable reading intends to understand what someone has written for some purpose by choosing to listen and try to understand, employing hermeneutically the golden rule: read as you would want your words to be read.⁴⁶ In this regard, recognition of Scripture as canon (i.e., rule) evokes a posture of humility, submission, and willingness to have one's theology ruled by the canon (cf. Ps 119:161). Accordingly, canonical theology aims at humble theological construction restricted to what is discernible, demonstrable, and defensible on the basis of the canonical data, avoiding both overreaching dogmatism and reductionism, attempting to allow questions and tensions to remain whenever investigation of the biblical data is underdeterminative.

With these commitments and aims in mind, the canonical theologian takes the following steps: (1) identify the issues/questions by extensive literature review (subject to change based on canonical investigation); (2) attempt to table known presuppositions that impinge upon the theological issues/questions (targeted epoché) and conduct an inductive reading of the canon and extract for further study any texts/passages that even touch on the questions; (3) pour over the data derived from the inductive reading, analyzing and organizing it according to discernible canonical patterns; (4) based on the analysis of the data, construct a minimal model that addresses the theological issues/questions; and, finally, (5) systematize the model by situating the tentative theological conclusions within the context of the wider theological landscape, with openness to further investigation and correction.⁴⁷ In this way, canonical theology employs the canon as the divinely commissioned source and rule from which (tentative) answers are derived to theological questions, toward the articulation of a coherent systematic model that corresponds to the text as nearly as achievable (but never seeks to replace it), while continually subjecting the theologian's conceptual framework (and other conclusions) to that of the canon in a hermeneutical spiral.⁴⁸

⁴⁵As Paul puts it, "now I know in part, but then I will know fully just as I have been fully known" (1 Cor 13:12).

⁴⁶See Daniel R. Schwarz's five stages of ethical reading of literature: (1) "Immersion in the process of reading and the discovery of imagined worlds," and (2) "Quest for understanding," including seeking "to discover the principles and worldview by which the author expects us to understand characters' behavior," (3) "Self-conscious reflection," (4) "Critical analysis," and (5) "Cognition in terms of what we know," moving "back and forth from the whole to the part" ("The Ethics of Reading Elie Wiesel's *Night*," in *Elie Wiesel's Night*, ed. Harold Bloom (New York: Bloom's Literary Criticism, 2010), 72–74.

⁴⁷For an example of theology derived via this method, see Peckham, *The Love of God: A Canonical Model* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2015).

⁴⁸The extracted model is never the final word but always remains secondary to the canonical text, which further corrects the system via ongoing canonical investigation.

*Beyond Modernistic Exegesis: Micro-Exegesis and
Macro-Exegesis as a Way Forward*

With the broad scope of canonical theology in mind, we turn now to focus on how canonical theology employs micro-exegesis and macro-exegesis toward advancing: (1) beyond hermeneutical positivism without falling into hermeneutical relativism, and (2) beyond the modern atomistic approach to the Bible and the attendant separation of biblical studies and systematics. Toward these goals, canonical theology deliberately attends to both the hermeneutical circles of: (1) reader and text and (2) the parts and the whole of the canon, via a hermeneutical spiral of micro-exegesis and macro-exegesis that continually subjects the interpreter's conceptual framework and interpretations to criticism and correction by the text.⁴⁹

Micro-exegesis and macro-exegesis are reciprocally operative levels of exegesis, the former consisting of exegesis at the level of pericopes and the latter seeking the conceptual framework set forth in the canon, within which the text can be read coherently.⁵⁰ Micro-exegesis and macro-exegesis function against the background of the three levels of macro-, meso-, and micro-hermeneutical presuppositions. Micro-hermeneutical presuppositions operate at the level of individual texts/pericopes, macro-hermeneutical presuppositions refer to one's overarching conceptual framework, and meso-hermeneutical principles refer to doctrinal commitments in-between. In biblical interpretation, each of these levels is operative and impinges upon the others. One's conceptual framework (macro) sets the ontological and epistemological parameters within which doctrines (meso) are conceptualized, both of which impinge upon the reading of individual texts/pericopes (micro). Conversely, reading of individual texts/pericopes *should* affect one's meso- and macro-hermeneutical presuppositions.

Every interpreter reads from some perspective and thus is affected, for good or ill, by macro-hermeneutical presuppositions (among others). Macro-hermeneutical presuppositions about the nature of God and reality (ontology) drastically affect the way the text can be read. For example, those who view God as impassible (that is, unable to be affected by anything external) tend to read the highly emotional descriptions of God throughout the canon (e.g. Hos 11:8–9) as anthropopathic, that is, metaphorical descriptions of emotion that do not actually correspond to God. Conversely, a strong case can be made that the exegetical force of the numerous emotional depictions of God in the canon should be allowed to question whether God is impassible in the first place.⁵¹ As Brevard Childs notes, "For systematic theologians the

⁴⁹This approach expands upon Fernando Canale's crucial distinction between [micro]hermeneutical and [macro]phenomenological exegesis (*Back to Revelation-Inspiration: Searching for the Cognitive Foundation of Christian Theology in a Postmodern World* [Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2001], 148–149).

⁵⁰Put simply, macro-exegesis attempts to derive macro-hermeneutical presuppositions from the text itself.

⁵¹See Peckham, "Theopathic or Anthropopathic? A Suggested Approach to

overarching categories are frequently philosophical. The same is often the case for biblical scholars even when cloaked under the guise of a theory of history.⁵² Accordingly, as Craig Bartholomew notes well, “One ignores the role of philosophy in biblical interpretation at one’s peril.”⁵³

In this regard, the deliverances of micro-exegesis are always influenced by macro- and meso-hermeneutical presuppositions. Consider the beginning of Genesis, “In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth” (Gen 1:1). An attempt to interpret this sentence raises questions such as: Who is God? What are the heavens and the earth? What does it mean to create? What is the beginning?⁵⁴ These questions impinge upon macro- and meso-hermeneutical presuppositions and some supply the answers from their pre-existing worldview, that is, without deliberately addressing such questions. If I come to Genesis 1 with a rigid conception of who God is already or a particular doctrine regarding the origin of the earth, however, I will tend to read the text through such lenses and may thereby severely distort the meaning in the text by imposing my own conceptual framework on it. Alternatively, modernism asserted that the text should be read from the purportedly neutral standpoint of non-theism. However, after modernism it is widely recognized that there is no neutral standpoint. As Anthony Thiselton puts it, “Non-theism or positivism is no more value-free than *theism*.”⁵⁵

Given this situation, canonical theology employs micro-exegesis and macro-exegesis to address the interpreter’s presuppositional framework and help to bridge the Enlightenment-generated gap between biblical studies and systematic theology.⁵⁶ This is premised on the view that the canon, as divinely commissioned rule, conveys an overarching conceptual framework.⁵⁷ Therefore, the canonical text should be read toward informing

Imagery of Divine Emotion in the Hebrew Bible,” *PRSt* 42.4 (2015): 87–101.

⁵²Brevard S. Childs, *Biblical Theology in Crisis* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970), 158.

⁵³Bartholomew, *Introducing Biblical Hermeneutics*, 131. Rob Lister adds, “metaphysical reflection on scriptural revelation is not, in principle, unacceptable” but is actually “unavoidable. Indeed, Scripture does commend a metaphysic (e.g., the Creator/creature distinction)” (*God is Impassible and Impassioned* [Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2012], 174).

⁵⁴Not to mention the micro-exegetical questions of whether the phrase be rendered “In the beginning, God created” or “In the beginning of God’s creation,” the answer to which holds macro-hermeneutical implications.

⁵⁵Anthony C. Thiselton, “Canon, Community, and Theological Construction,” in *Canon and Biblical Interpretation*, ed. Craig G. Bartholomew et al. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2006), 4.

⁵⁶This avoids the separation of biblical studies and theology by treating “doctrine” as “largely a matter of exegesis, of providing ‘analyses of the logic of the scriptural discourse’” (Vanhooser, *Drama of Doctrine*, 20).

⁵⁷I adopt the view that this is due to the divine authorship of the canon, but one might also operate similarly with either a conception of canon consciousness such that the conceptual framework was transmitted down through the generations to selected

and (where necessary) transforming one's conceptual framework via an ongoing hermeneutical spiral, examining the particulars of the canonical text first, from which broader conclusions may be derived rather than presupposing putatively universal macro-hermeneutical presuppositions that methodologically determine the particulars.⁵⁸

As noted earlier, this hermeneutical spiral addresses both the crucial hermeneutical circle of reader and text and the hermeneutical circle of the parts and the whole of the canon via the reciprocal operation of micro- and macro-exegesis. These ask fundamentally different, yet complementary, questions of the text, micro-exegesis seeking the intention discernible in the text in its immediate context and macro-exegesis utilizing micro-exegetically derived data to uncover the conceptual framework conveyed in the text that undergirds and circumscribes its meaning. The text at the micro-level holds methodological priority such that the interpreter seeks to recognize, temporarily suspend, and examine pertinent and identifiable operative macro- and meso-hermeneutical presuppositions (targeted epoché) toward allowing the text to inform all three levels and provide its own conceptual framework via a continuous hermeneutical spiral.⁵⁹

Accordingly, canonical theology resists the methodological vestiges of the modernistic ideal of neutrality that remain in some exegetical approaches, which purport to interpret the text "objectively," independent of (and thus perhaps blind to) an operative conceptual framework. Since the interpreter *always* brings a conceptual framework that impinges upon interpretation, it is crucial that exegesis not be undertaken without consciously engaging the operative conceptual framework (of both reader and text). When the operative conceptual framework is not intentionally addressed, there is a significant danger that an alien framework will be unwittingly read into, and superimposed upon, the text.⁶⁰ Micro-exegesis without attention to macro-hermeneutical presuppositions is prone to macro-*eisegesis*.

canonical writers and compilers via catechesis or a canon criticism perspective of the final-form canon as a unified literary document received and/or redacted by the community.

⁵⁸As Thiselton puts it, "Texts can actively shape and transform the perceptions, understandings, and actions of readers" (*New Horizons in Hermeneutics*, 31).

⁵⁹By "suspend," I mean to put on the table for investigation and evaluation. Here, then, I have in mind a *minimal* targeted epoché, which is the careful and intentional "tabling" of those recognizable and relevant presuppositions that impinge upon the matter at hand. This minimal targeted epoché, then, does not attempt to "table" *all* of one's presuppositions. Were this even possible, the success of such radical epoché would remove the ability to conduct the investigation itself. Rather, in this approach a minimal epoché is targeted to suspend (i.e., "table") presuppositions in those areas that might be reasonably expected to impinge upon the study in the attempt to let the text speak for itself rather than being forced into an alien mold, while recognizing that presuppositionless interpretation is unattainable.

⁶⁰See the discussion of the impact of neoplatonism on the exegesis and doctrines of some church fathers in Bartholomew, *Introducing Biblical Hermeneutics*, 135,

Conversely, micro-exegesis and macro-exegesis should function concurrently in an ongoing, reciprocally correcting manner, attempting to avoid reducing or flattening the multivalency of the text(s) while seeking the wider canonical context that preserves the individual nuances of the text(s).⁶¹ Rejecting dichotomies between individual texts/pericopes and the canon as a whole, canonical theology embraces both in mutual reciprocity such that “system” is not sought at the expense of the complexity and variety of individual texts. In this way, canonical theology looks beyond (without overlooking) the limits of individual texts/pericopes, viewing Scripture’s parts in light of the whole and the whole in light of its parts without artificially imposing one upon the other. It thus transcends atomistic exegetical methodologies and/or biblical theologies that are restricted to a mere compilation and/or summary of purportedly fragmentary parts. As such, canonical theology seeks to avoid an atomistic reading of Scripture, which has been the unfortunate byproduct of some modernistic approaches to exegesis, in favor of reading the canon theologically in accordance with its own subject matter. Whereas it is worthwhile to attempt to avoid reading theological presuppositions into the text, it is counterproductive to attempt an *atheological* reading of a theological text.⁶² Given the failure of modernism, I take it to be within my epistemic rights to abandon the ideological and methodological strictures of modern biblical criticism and critically question the procedures and results of interpretations that presuppose anti-supernatural bias, a fragmentary view of the text, or otherwise undercut the ruling authority of Scripture as canon.⁶³

Accordingly, canonical theology avoids basing theological conclusions on speculative reconstructions of tradition history and therefore does not focus on a reconstructed pre-canonical history “behind” the text.⁶⁴ Yet, as Vanhoozer

141–154, 448–449.

⁶¹The attempt, here, is to recognize and do justice to the complexity of the exegetical upshot of the text (via grammatical-historical procedures), bringing the exegesis of the parts of the canon to bear on the whole and vice versa without injury to any of it. This recognizes that a method of analogy “can lead to an overemphasis on the unity of biblical texts,” resulting in “‘artificial conformity’ that ignores the diversity of expression and emphasis between divergent statements in the Bible” (D. A. Carson and John D. Woodbridge, *Scripture and Truth* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1983], 361).

⁶²“Atheological” exegesis methodologically contradicts its subject matter and thus contradicts an ethical and charitable reading of what is intended *in* the text, written by someone(s) for some purpose.

⁶³As Treier notes well: “We need not ignore the historical development of words and concepts, engaging in simplistic synthetic connections that obscure the particularities of any given text. But neither should we operate as prisoners of alien standards imposed by academic guilds that tend to reject the unity of Scripture or allow passages to relate only on the narrowest criteria” (*Introducing TIS*, 201).

⁶⁴This does not intend to criticize historical disciplines as properly practiced, but to recognize the fluidity and speculative nature of the deliverances of many results of modern historical criticism of the Bible, which frequently focuses on secondary subject matter behind the text to the detriment of focus on the primary subject matter of the

puts it, such a “canonical approach” has “nothing to do with an ahistorical approach that takes the Bible as a free-floating ‘text,’ nor with a historicist approach that focuses on the events behind the text” but “takes the whole canon as the interpretative framework for understanding God, the world, oneself, and others” by reading “individual passages and books as elements within the divine drama of redemption.”⁶⁵ Similarly, canonical theology’s emphasis on the final-form canon does not neglect the canon’s diachronic elements; canonical theology does not simply read Scripture synchronically but via grammatical-historical procedures that take seriously the history (and unfolding revelation) brought forth in and by the text itself.⁶⁶

Taking the canon to accurately represent its own history, canonical theology focuses on the text’s claims and engages relevant *extant* historical materials that may assist interpretation (e.g., other ancient literature, artifacts) while reserving priority for the canonical text and being wary of the tendency to take an ancient extra-canonical parallel and read it into biblical text.⁶⁷ Whereas extant extra-biblical texts and artifacts illuminate the background and interpretive options of the text, they are not determinative because (among other reasons): (1) the relationship between the text/artifact and the canonical text, if any, is often unknown; the biblical authors may not have been aware of the text/artifact in question and, even if they were, may have intentionally departed from the views represented therein; (2) historical correspondence depends upon the often disputed dating/authorship of the biblical texts, leaving questions whether reuse of a text is present and, if so, which text is reusing the other; and (3) extra-biblical texts/artifacts must

text itself. Cf. Joel Green’s view that “theological interpretation of Christian Scripture concerns itself with interpretation of the biblical texts in their final form, not as they might be reconstructed by means of historical-critical sensibilities (i.e., Historical Criticism)” (*Practicing Theological Interpretation* [Grand Rapids: Baker, 2011], 49).

⁶⁵Vanhooser, *Drama of Doctrine*, 149.

⁶⁶Cf. Walter C. Kaiser Jr.’s concept of epigenetic growth (*Toward an Old Testament Theology* [Grand Rapids, Zondervan, 2001], 8). Consider, in this regard, Richard M. Davidson’s explanation of his approach as analyzing “the theology of the final canonical form of OT. It utilizes insights from such widely accepted synchronic methodologies as the new literary criticism and the new biblical theology, which focus upon the final form of the OT text. It will not inquire about the possible precanonical history of the text but seek to understand the overriding theological thrust of Scripture wholistically as it now presents itself in the biblical canon. This canonical, close-reading approach does not ignore, however, the unique settings and theological emphases of different sections of the canonical OT. By focusing upon the final form of the OT text, I believe it is possible that the interests of both liberal-critical and evangelical OT scholarship may merge in seeking to understand what constitutes the canonical theological message of the OT regarding human sexuality” (*Flame of Yahweh: Sexuality in the Old Testament* [Grand Rapids: Baker, 2007], 2–3).

⁶⁷An interpreter who questions, however, whether the canon accurately depicts history might suspend judgment in this regard and/or take a realistic narrative approach (cf. Hans Frei) and ask what kind of claims (historical and otherwise) the text itself affirms and to what theological conceptions such claims lead.

themselves must be interpreted and we may know considerably less about the extra-canonical text/artifact and its context than we know about the biblical text that it is used to interpret.⁶⁸ Canonical theology thus urges caution when using extra-canonical historical data to interpret the biblical text, aiming to avoid parallelomania and the imposition of an alien framework that may have been held by contemporaries of the biblical authors but not representative of the views they intend to express in the text and thus at odds with the conceptual framework revealed by God within the canon.

Accordingly, canonical theology avoids a bifurcation between what the text *meant* and what it *means*, seeking the meaning that is preserved *in* the text as received and situated within the wider narrative context that itself is crucial to the canonical conceptual framework.⁶⁹ As such, while canonical theology employs the grammatical-historical *procedures* of exegesis *canonically*, it provides much more than merely a glorified exegetical outline or summary contextualized for a contemporary audience. Challenging any rigid separation between exegetical and theological disciplines, the systematic theologian plays a vital role in asking questions of the text while deliberately requiring text-based and text-controlled answers, continually seeking the inner logic of the canon without expecting that each question will receive a determinate answer.⁷⁰

However, it is essential to continually distinguish between the methodological goal of a purely canonical reading and the phenomenological reality that we never arrive at a fully canonical reading. While Scripture is infallible, our individual and collective interpretation of it is not. Although the canonical theologian aims at a conceptual framework and resultant

⁶⁸For example, see the discussion of how ANE parallels regarding so-called “covenant love” have sometimes been imposed on biblical interpretation in ways that may run contrary to the evidence of the biblical text itself in Peckham, *The Concept of Divine Love in the Context of the God-World Relationship* (New York: Peter Lang, 2014), 197–201.

⁶⁹Whereas the historical author’s intention is not entirely recoverable, as cause of the text it grounds the contemporary meaning *in* the text. Cf. the cogent criticism of the distinction between what the text meant and means in Gerhard F. Hasel, “The Relationship Between Biblical Theology and Systematic Theology,” *TJ* 5.2 (1984): 113–127. Cf. Osborne, *Hermeneutical Spiral*, 32. There is also a concern here about putting too much emphasis on how an interpreter thinks the original audience would have understood a text (an original audience communitarianism that has some parallels in this regard to postmodern emphasis on reader-response), which is unavoidably speculative and may not correspond to the author’s original purpose(s).

⁷⁰As such, canonical theology does not outsource exegesis of the canonical data but requires careful attention to the primary source material of the canon itself in order to effectively discern what might be usefully and appropriately gleaned from secondary sources. Thus, the systematician who is untrained in exegesis might consider pairing up with an exegetically proficient partner. In this and other ways, canonical theology seeks to transcend the modern separation of disciplines toward greater, transdisciplinary collaboration in order to employ high-level exegesis of the text, knowledge of historical theology and the history and impact of philosophy, and a sound understanding of principles and methods of systematic theology.

theology shaped, reformed, and brought into union with the canonical conceptual framework via a continuous hermeneutical spiral, the interpreter's presuppositions always impinge upon interpretation and the derived conceptual framework such that theological conclusions should remain continuously open to further investigation and revision toward better and better understanding.⁷¹ As such, canonical theology does not attempt to construct an immovable cathedral-like systematic theology but, via an ongoing hermeneutical spiral, aims at constructing dynamic and ambulatory models (analogous to Israel's traveling wilderness tabernacle), ever-moving and ever-reforming in (attempted) correspondence to the canonical text as God's rule.⁷² This entails recognition of the limits of canonical theology, to which we now briefly turn.

Some Limits of Canonical Theology

The goals and methodology discussed above provide a methodologically limited scope of *canonical* theology, which does not exclude further theological work that takes the results of canonical theological method and employs those results in dialogue with a broader scope of data.⁷³ Employment of canonical theological method on various matters might provide abundant material for productive engagement with dialogue partners across a broad range of disciplines. The proposal here is not to delimit theological (or other) scholarship as a whole by canonical methodology, but that such a delimited theological method might provide for those who choose to practice it a (methodological) starting point from which other areas and issues might be more fruitfully engaged systematically.⁷⁴ Canonical theology, then, does not make any claim to exhaustive theology, since the study of God is inexhaustible and there is much more that God could reveal that is not within the canon (cf. John 21:25).

⁷¹As Jean Grondin states, "The goal of understanding better, conceived in terms of an unreachable *telos* and the impossibility of complete understanding, bears witness to the fact that the endeavor to interpret more deeply is always worthwhile" (*Introduction to Philosophical Hermeneutics* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994], 71).

⁷²The objective of canonical theological method, then, is to come as close as possible to a canonically-derived system, though recognizing that one never achieves this perfectly. The conclusions of canonical theological method are thus "true" insofar as they correspond to the canon, which this approach takes to be the standard of theological truth. Accordingly, canonical theology does not attempt to atomistically extract isolated doctrines from the rich narrativity of Scripture, but sees itself as inextricably situated within the dynamic narrative of the God-world relationship, of which the canon is a covenant witness document. See Peckham, *Canonical Theology*, 209–212.

⁷³Of course, it also does not exclude the ongoing work being done within the various disciplines themselves.

⁷⁴That is, those committed to canonical theology can methodologically direct attention and resources to canonical theology without in any way detracting from the ongoing efforts of others who contemporaneously seek to contextualize current understanding across disciplines. Other disciplines would continue with their work concurrently but perhaps with more openness to transdisciplinary collaboration.

As such, the canonical theologian does not expect the canon to provide answers to all of our questions and does not propose it as the only object of study. Yet, I believe that far more theological mining of the canon would go a long way toward charting the path forward for how theology relates to contemporary questions, allowing the canon to rule not merely formally but functionally. Accordingly, when it comes to engagement with the main branches of philosophy (e.g., metaphysics and epistemology), for example, because canonical theology aims at a dynamic and ambulatory wilderness-sanctuary-like construction of theological models rather than a cathedral-like fully-developed system, it does not expect to yield conclusive positions regarding many of the intricate questions of metaphysics and epistemology. As such, canonical theology rejects the modernistic supposition that “foundational” philosophical questions must be conclusively answered a priori or via generalized abstraction from limited data. Instead, canonical theology focuses on careful examination of particulars in their canonical context without delimiting the options regarding what might be the case generally, attempting to avoid imposing a universal or totalizing conceptual framework.

Relative to ecclesiology, far more careful consideration needs to be given to the essential, positive role of the community toward avoiding isolationism on the one hand and communitarianism on the other. Here, distinctions should be recognized between (1) canonical theology, (2) ecclesial doctrines, and (3) ecclesial policy and practice. In my view, ecclesial policy and practice has a wider range of acceptable derivation than theological doctrine, in consideration of the fact that the canon is selective in what it addresses. Whereas one should not prematurely assume that Scripture does not set forth either a principle or policy that applies to a specific matter of ecclesial policy or practice, where one or both is absent, the church has a degree of authority within the sphere of intra-church policy and governance (1 Thess 5:12; Tit 1:5–9) and a duty to appropriately contextualize the practice and communication of the faith (without compromising biblically derived theological doctrine). With regard to the distinction between canonical theology and ecclesial doctrine (e.g., fundamental beliefs, confessions, or creeds), a given church’s doctrinal statements may possess ministerial authority within that particular community, but are themselves subject to disconfirmation by Scripture. As such, canonical theology would be distinct from ecclesial doctrine; the former should inform the latter without the latter being allowed to function methodologically as a normative hermeneutical arbiter. While we all operate from within some community, the positive role of which should never be overlooked, that community need not and should not be methodologically determinative. Instead, the divinely commissioned canon should be allowed to rule in matters of theological doctrine and interpretation.

Conclusion: Revisiting Opportunities and Challenges

This essay has introduced the landscape of systematic theology after modernism, assessed some pertinent opportunities and challenges thereof, and introduced and briefly explained canonical theological method, which recognizes and employs

the canon as a unified corpus that is divinely commissioned to rule theological doctrine and interpretation. It now remains to revisit how canonical theology meets some of the opportunities and challenges of the current landscape, toward providing a way forward for systematic theology after modernism.

Canonical theology aims at helpfully meeting some of the most pertinent challenges facing systematic theology after modernism and also takes up numerous opportunities. Among other things, canonical theology moves beyond modernistic classical foundationalism (and its quest for indubitability, neutrality, and objectivity) and hermeneutical positivism: (1) recognizing the level epistemological playing field after modernism such that the biblical canon is at least as legitimate a starting point for theological thinking as other options and thus does not require justification a priori; and (2) abandoning the pretense of neutral reading in favor of a properly theological reading of Scripture as canon that seeks the guidance of the Holy Spirit, without presupposing the indefeasibility of the interpreter's conceptual framework (including macro-hermeneutical presuppositions).

Whereas modernism led to a rejection and replacement of the so-called "premodern" commitment to Scripture as a divinely commissioned and unified *theological* corpus, canonical theology retrieves the canon as "canonical," that is as: (1) divinely commissioned rule; (2) unified corpus; and (3) superintended by the Holy Spirit. In so doing, canonical theology is critical and alert to the vestiges of modernism that remain in critical methodologies that purport to mandate an atheological reading of a distinctively theological text and the related separation of disciplines, including (but not limited to) atomistic approaches to biblical studies and theology. Over and against an atomistic approach to exegesis (critical or otherwise), canonical theology believes that close, controlled reading of the text in context (micro-exegesis) is not mutually exclusive to broad, canonical reading of the text (macro-exegesis), but both might be mutually beneficial and also help draw attention to, and potentially reform, the interpreter's ever-present macro-hermeneutical presuppositions that sometimes go undetected and therefore operate as uncritical assumptions in both exegesis and theology.

Even given the best methodology, however, canonical theology recognizes that hermeneutical diversity will remain. Whereas some seek to assuage hermeneutical diversity by turning to the community to provide a normative interpretive arbiter, canonical theology does not expect to eliminate hermeneutical diversity and wishes to avoid any subversion (however unintentional) of the *functional* canonical authority of Scripture. If theological knowledge is limited to that which God reveals, as canonical theology holds, and even this we "see through a glass, darkly" (1 Cor 13:12, KJV), then there can be no hermeneutical stopping point. Rather, "final' or absolute biblical interpretations are properly eschatological."⁷⁵

⁷⁵Vanhooser, "The Voice and the Actor," 80. "For the moment, we must cast our doctrines not in the language of heaven" but in the "culture-bound languages of earth, governed, of course, by the dialogue we find in Scripture itself" (ibid.).

Canonical theology thus advocates a methodological return to the canon toward the retrieval of the conceptual framework posited therein without naively thinking we can do so with absolute purity (hermeneutical positivism) and thus always searching to better attend to the text while doing so in community without communitarianism, which will reveal blind spots and allow us to advance together without expecting that we will thus agree on everything.⁷⁶ As such, canonical theology not only approaches Scripture as the uniquely authoritative and sufficient source of theological doctrine, but also employs the canon as rule, thus denying any normative extra-canonical interpretive arbiter and, instead, directing the interpreter back to the canon as rule in a continuous hermeneutical spiral.

⁷⁶As such, canonical theology aims to avoid both the poles of isolationism and communitarianism and the poles of hermeneutical positivism and hermeneutical relativism.

SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST APPROACHES TO OTHER RELIGIONS: PRELIMINARY FINDINGS FROM 1930–1950, PART II

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The first part of this article articulated the wider setting of the Christian movement as it related to world religions from the early part of the twentieth century up to the 1940s. As noted in that article, Seventh-day Adventists had been engaging in world-wide mission for roughly four decades prior to 1930. In comparison to the wider Protestant mission enterprise, Adventists were over one hundred years behind most other Christian denominations. Therefore, Adventist approaches to other religions were not as developed as many of the other Christian groups around them.

Various theological approaches to other religions were being explored by Christians during the early decades of the twentieth century. The first article highlighted fulfillment theology, which had become popular during the 1910 Edinburgh mission conference but was rapidly declining by the 1930s and 1940s due to the impact of the two World Wars dampening the progressive outlook needed to sustain fulfillment theology. Others were advocating an approach to other religions that was much more open, even to the point of arguing that other religions contained truth and therefore missions to those in other religions were no longer needed. This was most clearly stated in W. E. Hocking's seminal work, *Re-thinking Missions*, published in 1932, which argued for a moratorium on missions.¹ Just six years later, at a major mission conference in Chennai, India, known as the Tambaram conference, Hendrik Kraemer published his study of other religions, *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World*, which argued in favor of mission to other religions and was written, in many ways, in opposition to Hocking's work.² These two books represent the tension-filled atmosphere that surrounded much of the discussions on world religions that Christians were engaging in during this time.³

While there is not much evidence of Seventh-day Adventists participating directly in any of the above discussions, they were affected by the views that were being debated, as these two articles attempt to show. The period of the 1930s through the 1940s is important to Adventists because they were beginning to reflect more carefully on other religions after getting over the initial shock of encountering these religions that were so different than what they were

¹William E. Hocking, *Re-Thinking Missions: A Laymen's Inquiry after 100 Years* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1932).

²Hendrik Kraemer, *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1938).

³For more details on this, see Andrew Tompkins, "Seventh-day Adventist Approaches to Other Religions: Preliminary Findings from 1930–1950, Part I," *AUSS* 54 (2016): 333–348.

accustomed to seeing. They were also very cognizant of other Christian viewpoints and approaches toward other religions and were influenced by them.

In the first article, key moments for the Adventist approaches to other religions were highlighted and analyzed within the framework of the wider Christian movement. They set the stage for what follows in this article. Therefore, it is advisable to read that article prior to this one to gain a better understanding of the background and key events that inform this article.

Key People

The first half of this article ended by looking at key moments that occurred between 1930 and 1950; part two begins by looking at key people. While the list of Adventists interested in or publishing on world religions during this time period would be quite large, there are a few specific individuals who are more prominent in their published works. This first section will give a brief synopsis of these individuals in an attempt to show their importance in the development of Adventist understandings and approaches to other religions. Because this research is not a biographical essay, little space will be spent on biographical details for each person mentioned.⁴

The second section will describe some of the broader trends in Adventist approaches to other religions during this time period. These are more general in nature and, as will be seen, are meant to foster further discussion and research.

Roland E. Loasby

Roland E. Loasby spent his entire professional career in service to the Adventist Church. He was born in England but came to the United States at a young age and studied at Washington Missionary College before going out as a missionary to Bermuda in the early part of the twentieth century.⁵ He did not stay long in Bermuda, however, but moved to India in 1915, where he and his family worked until 1938. In that year, Loasby moved to Takoma Park to become a full-time professor in the recently established Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary.⁶

During his time in India, Loasby worked primarily in what is today the State of Maharashtra. He, along with his family, worked primarily in locations where there was no prior Adventist presence.⁷

⁴What is really needed is scholarly biographical articles on each of the people who will be mentioned; some of them may even deserve to have books written about them.

⁵The *Sligonian* lists Roland Loasby as one of the first five graduates of Washington Missionary College. J. L. Shaw, "Early Beginnings and Growth of the College," *Sligonian* 3.7 (March 1919): 8.

⁶The voted action for Loasby's permanent return can be found in General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists (Washington, DC), Minutes of Meetings of the General Conference Committee, 3–30 June 1938, meeting of 30 June 1938, 805.

⁷For a description of some of the work Loasby did in India, see J. B. Trim, "Help India," *British Advent Messenger* 74.25 (5 December 1969): 1–2; idem, "Obituary," *Southern Asia Tidings* 69.11 (June 1974): 10–11.

As a result, he became well acquainted with many Hindus and some Muslims. This triggered much reflection on the part of Loasby and eventually manifested itself in published articles and even academic work. Loasby was also somewhat of a linguist, becoming proficient in several spoken Indian languages, as well as Sanskrit, Greek, and Hebrew.

Loasby published many descriptive articles in several Adventist publications, primarily on Hinduism, but he also did a series in *The Signs of the Times* (*ST*), which included articles on Muslims and Buddhists as well as Hindus.⁸ Loasby spent a lot of time studying the ancient scriptures of the Hindus, especially the *Bhagavad Gita*.⁹ He wrote about various Hindu rituals, practices, and beliefs that he observed in the field.¹⁰ He also recognized that there was a major disconnect between the way Western missionaries did mission and how they were perceived by adherents of these various religions.

As noted in the first part of this article, he led out in a major discussion concerning the cultural practices of converts at the Biennial Council of the Southern Asia Division in 1933. This discussion reveals that he was dissatisfied with the trend of Western missionaries in forcing their cultural ways on Indians.¹¹

During one of Loasby's furloughs to the United States, he completed an MA at Columbia University. His mentor at Columbia was Robert Ernest Hume, considered by many at the time to be one of the foremost scholars in the area of comparative religion. Loasby's thesis focused on the *Bhagavad Gita*. Throughout the thesis he makes comparisons between concepts in the *Gita* and the Bible. The thesis was completed in 1932 and reveals a very deep knowledge of not only the *Gita* but of Hindu sacred scripture in general. He found much spiritual depth in the *Gita* and recognized its value to Indians.¹² Loasby felt that in the end, however, the *Gita* was in many ways profound but unclear in its approach to salvation.¹³ He also carefully critiqued the Hindu understanding of avatar as it related to the biblical concept of incarnation, and attempted to show that the two terms meant very different things within their

⁸Roland E. Loasby, "Hinduism Under the X Ray," *ST* 62.12 (19 March 1935): 6–7; idem, "Islam Under the X Ray," *ST* 62.14 (2 April 1935): 6–7; idem, "Buddhism and Christianity in Contrast," *ST* 62.11 (12 March 1935): 7, 14.

⁹In Loasby's article on Hinduism for the *ST* in 1935, he spends most of the space describing various sacred Hindu texts, such as the *Vedas*, *Brahmanas*, *Upanishads*, and *Bhagavad Gita*, which he felt stood "out above all the rest of Hindu sacred books." See idem, "Hinduism under the X Ray," 6–7.

¹⁰Examples of this can be found in idem, "Strange Gods," *ST* 61.17 (24 April 1934): 7; idem, "Idol Worship in India," *ST* 62.13 (26 March 1935): 6–7.

¹¹See M. E. Kern, "Southern Asia Division Roundtable Discussions," *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* 110.24 (15 June 1933): 10. Future references to the *Advent Review and Sabbath Herald* will be abbreviated with *AR*.

¹²Loasby, "Some Gita Teachings Compared with Orthodox Hinduism and Modern Tendencies" (MA thesis, Columbia University, 1932), 6.

¹³Loasby frequently cites lack of coherence and focus as a major issue in the *Bhagavad Gita*. For example, see *ibid.*, 22, 40.

respective religious contexts.¹⁴ At the same time, Loasby commented on, what he felt were bridges between the *Gita* and the Bible, especially in the type of language that was used to describe God or the Supreme Being. Portions of the *Gita* reminded him of John 14:20, “I am in the Father, and ye in me, and I in you.”¹⁵ The final sentence of his thesis reads: “Yet the existence of the *Gita* is itself proof eloquent that the heart of India longs for a personal Saviour; and when India’s millions bow down to Krishna, they are unknowingly expressing their cry for the incarnate Son of God, the Chief among ten thousand.”¹⁶ There may be a hint of fulfillment theology in this sentence, which would not be surprising during this time, especially considering the educational background Loasby had.¹⁷

Loasby would continue his study of the *Gita* as the focus of his doctoral work at American University located in Washington, DC. He would complete his doctoral dissertation, entitled “Lokamanya Bala Gangadhara Tilak (1856–1920). His Reorientation of the *Gita* Tradition: A Factor in the Rise of Indian Nationalism,” in 1942. At American University, Loasby’s primary mentor was Ralph Turner, who had become famous for his two volume work *The Great Cultural Traditions*.¹⁸ Loasby’s dissertation was focused more on historical developments rather than religious developments. Yet he still found a way to incorporate an edited form of the majority of his MA thesis into the first half of his dissertation, presented as a kind of background to the *Gita*. He then moved into an historical study of how Tilak, one of India’s most famous freedom fighters, made use of the *Gita* as a tool for inspiring militant followers.

Loasby was one of the first Adventist educators to receive a PhD. The newly established Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary hired Loasby as its primary instructor in Greek and Hebrew. In many ways, this marked the end of Loasby’s engagement with other religions. One wonders what might have been had he continued as a professor of world religions rather than Greek and Hebrew. Loasby’s last published article on Hinduism was published in the 1964 issue of *Andrews University Seminary Studies (AUSS)*. It dealt with

¹⁴Ibid., 23–25, 62–68.

¹⁵Ibid., 45.

¹⁶Ibid., 139.

¹⁷There were other moments where Loasby made statements that sound like fulfillment theology, for example, “Jesus fulfills the Indian thought, and more. He is the realization of the Indian ideal, but adds a distinctly additional element.” See idem, “Hinduism under the X Ray,” 7.

¹⁸Ralph Turner, *The Great Cultural Traditions*, 2 vols. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1941). Turner subscribed to the anthropological and sociological strain of thinking that presupposed the evolutionary theory as the foundation for human society and culture. The copies of his book—both volume one and two—contain the sticker of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary in Takoma Park, MD, which means they were most likely in the Seminary library during the time period that this paper addresses.

the *Bhagavad Gita* and was in many ways similar to his MA thesis. To date, it is the only article on Hinduism that *AUSS* has ever published.¹⁹

As noted in the first part of this article, Loasby was involved in mission initiatives in the Seminary. Loasby played a major role in the training of potential missionaries in Arabic with the intention of sending them out to work for Muslims.²⁰ In an article that appeared in *Spectrum*, Loasby's name appears in a list of the top ten most influential Adventist educators.²¹ He was one of the few Adventists who had thoroughly researched another religion, as demonstrated in his early publishing career and in his academic work. To date, there are few, if any, Adventist scholars who have done as much research and publishing on Hinduism as Loasby.

Erich W. Bethmann

Erich Bethmann's name was mentioned in the first part of the article which highlighted the work in the Middle East, alongside that of W. K. Ising and Willy Lesovsky. What sets Bethmann apart from these two men is the amount of published work he produced. He published a number of articles in various Adventist periodicals throughout his time in the Middle East, and later published several books as well. Bethmann, with his family, went to the Middle East at a young age and immediately showed a gift for languages. He became proficient in Arabic, but also was an able student in Arab culture. He eventually became somewhat of an expert in Islam as well.

Bethmann, with Lesovsky, spent time in the Newman School of Mission, which would have broadened his mission horizons beyond the educational background of most other Adventists of the time. His keen interest in the culture and religion of Palestine, in particular, also set him apart from many of the other Adventist missionaries in the Middle East. In a time when most Adventist writing about Islam was connected to prophecy, Bethmann was learning about Islam and thinking about the best methods and ways to share the Gospel with Muslims.

Under the encouraging leadership of W. K. Ising, Bethmann was made the secretary of a special committee that the Arabic Union put together in 1935 to help the Adventist Church move forward in its understanding and approach to Muslims. Bethmann himself wrote articles that painted Islam in a much more positive light than many of his predecessors had. He also wanted more literature to be produced in Arabic, lamenting the fact that there were only "four [Adventist authored] books in Arabic and twenty tracts, many of them probably out of date" and that of those there was only "one book which

¹⁹Loasby, "The Challenge of the *Bhagavad-gita*: *Krishna*, and the *Bhakti-Marga*," *AUSS* 2 (1964): 79–96.

²⁰See General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists (Washington, DC), Minutes of Meetings of the General Conference Committee, 2–30 July 1942, meeting of 9 July 1942, 507; B. P. Hoffman, "Toward New Advances in the Moslem World," *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald (AR)* 119.47 (19 November 1942): 17.

²¹"A Profile of North American Religion Teachers," *Spectrum* 18.1 (1987): 34.

is marked acceptable to Muslims.” He argued that it was not acceptable to simply “translate Christian books into Arabic” because these were, in his view, “acceptable for Christians only, but not for Muslims in general.” He wanted books written that took seriously the mind of Muslims.²²

Because of Bethmann’s German citizenship, he was taken by the British to an internment camp in India for seven years, spanning the duration of World War II (WWII) and beyond. He was separated from his family and colleagues during this period. After the end of WWII, Bethmann was released, at which time he moved to the United States.²³

In 1947, Bethmann wrote an article in *The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald*, which revealed much about his own understanding of Islam. He decried Adventists’ total lack of work in the Middle East among Muslims as unacceptable. He also admitted that he did not have all the solutions, but he knew for sure that, “we need men who will get acquainted with the Moslem outlook, with the Moslem train of thought.” He wished the church would inspire young people, who were creative, to come up with new ideas and methods for working among Muslims. He advocated “going out two by two, explaining the Koran, preaching the gospel.” Bethmann was fully aware that this was a method not currently accepted by Christians, but after many years in the Middle East, Bethmann was convinced something different had to be done. In a somewhat prophetic statement, Bethmann ended the article by saying: “I am not certain whether I myself am prepared yet to try this method, but one day it will be done, and if it cannot be done by us white men, it will have to be done by our native brethren.”²⁴

In the United States, Bethmann attended the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary starting in 1947 and completed his MA degree in 1950. He also published his most well-known work in 1950 through the Southern Publishing Association. *Bridge to Islam* was the first book of its kind to come out of an Adventist publishing house.²⁵ According to Bethmann, the book was written “to stimulate thinking, and, if possible, to kindle the desire for further investigation and awaken the urge to make a contribution to a solution” towards the challenge of Islam.²⁶ There is a significant chapter devoted to a comparison between Christianity and Islam, as well as a final

²²Erich W. Bethmann, *Bridge to Islam* (Nashville, TN: Southern Publishing Association, 1950), 283–284.

²³See C. A. Hart, “Freed From Internment,” *Eastern Tidings* 41.17 (1 September 1946): 8; W. P. Bradley, “Internees Arrive From India,” *AR* 123.49 (17 October 1946): 16.

²⁴Erich W. Bethmann, “The Moslem Challenge,” *AR* 124.1 (2 January 1947): 15–16.

²⁵According to the minutes of the General Conference Committee from 25 September 1947, Bethmann was asked to write this manuscript in order for it to be used in mission preparation. See General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists (Washington, DC), Minutes of Meetings of the General Conference Committee, 1–29 September 1947, meeting of 25 September 1947, 694.

²⁶Bethmann, *Bridge to Islam* (1950), 2.

chapter documenting the history of the Seventh-day Adventist work in the Middle East up to that time.²⁷

Bethmann would leave official Adventist Church employment soon after this, and join a cultural think tank in Washington, DC called American Friends of the Middle East (AFME).²⁸ The United States government often consulted with AFME concerning Middle Eastern policy. Bethmann would work at AFME for the rest of his professional career and continue to publish culturally focused manuscripts and documents on the Middle East.²⁹ He would even republish his *Bridge to Islam* with another publisher in 1953.³⁰ This copy was more widely reviewed, including by Hendrik Kraemer, who reviewed it with a positive assessment.³¹

Like Loasby, Bethmann was ahead of his time. In many respects, Bethmann and Lesovsky, under the guidance and encouragement of W. K. Ising, set the foundation for the future work that would grow more than any other Adventist work among other religions. Bethmann predicted that the work among Muslims would one day become strong, but he also predicted that this would require a new approach that was more radical and more open than the church had been using up until that time.

It can be hard to measure the impact of individuals from an historical viewpoint. With that said, there is no doubt that Erich Bethmann is an important figure in the history of Adventist approaches to other religions, specifically in his role in laying the foundation for a new approach to Islam. Bethmann's desires were often left unfulfilled; he longed for the day when

²⁷Idem, *Bridge to Islam* (1950).

²⁸The following is found in the General Conference Committee minutes from 2 April 1951: "VOTED, That in view of circumstances that prevent his continuing in the organized work, the services of E. Bethmann, who has been on the General Conference payroll for some time, be terminated as from March 31, 1951" (General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists [Washington, DC], Minutes of Meetings of the General Conference Committee, 2–15 April 1951, meeting of 2 April 1951, 351). For more on Bethmann's time with AFME, see Garland Evans Hopkins, "American Friends of the Middle East: First Annual Report of the Executive Vice President to the Board of Directors and the National Council of the American Friends of the Middle East, Inc., May 15, 1951 to June 30, 1952," (New York: AFME, 1952), 11–12, 15; Andrew I. Killgore, "Erich Waldemar Bethmann: A Lifelong Servant of Truth," *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* (May–June 1991): 41, <http://www.wrmea.org/1991-may-june/erich-waldemar-bethmann-a-lifelong-servant-of-truth.html>.

²⁹Some of these published works include Erich W. Bethmann, *Decisive Years in Palestine 1918–1948* (New York: AFME, 1957); idem, *The Fate of Muslims under Soviet Rule*, (New York: AFME, 1958); idem, *Yemen on the Threshold* (Washington DC: AFME, 1960); idem, *Steps towards Understanding Islam* (Washington DC: AFME, 1966).

³⁰Idem, *Bridge to Islam* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1953). This edition did not contain the chapter on Adventist mission work.

³¹For this review, see Hendrik Kraemer, "Studies of Islam," *International Review of Mission* 40.158 (1951): 223–224. It was also reviewed in Garland Evans Hopkins, "Middle East Reaches Print," *The Christian Century* 69.6 (1952): 159.

“Christ on the Eastern road” would be “clad in Eastern garb.”³² It was Bethmann’s desire to see Muslims drawn to Christ and this had inspired much of his work and effort in his years of mission service.³³

Other Prominent Figures

There are other figures who are important to this work and, in many ways, deserve much more attention. Below is a brief description of their contributions to Adventist approaches to other religions.

W. K. Ising

W. K. Ising was a student of culture and mission. He spent the better part of his career either in the Middle East or promoting and administrating mission projects from the division home base in Germany. Bethmann mentions that Ising was the superintendent of the Arabic Union from 1928–1936, at which time he returned to Europe to work at the headquarters of the Central European Division, which oversaw the Adventist work in the Middle East.³⁴

Ising was adamant that Adventists needed to focus more intentionally on the world of Islam. He had seen the church grow very little in the Middle East, and felt that one of the reasons was due to a poor understanding of Islam. He was the primary encourager of Erich Bethmann and Willy Lesovsky³⁵ and gave them the freedom to explore new areas of mission among Muslims. This was done at a time when most Adventists struggled to develop new methods beyond the usual focus on education, health, literature, and public evangelism.

While Ising would not live to see any major successes in the Middle East, he helped to train and encourage young mission workers who would lay the foundation for a new approach to Islam. His legacy lives on in that the Adventist work has grown and expanded in the Muslim context more than any other major world religion.³⁶

L. G. Mookerjee

L. G. Mookerjee was the descendant of the first Christian convert of William Carey in India. Mookerjee’s father had converted to Adventism

³²Bethmann, *Bridge to Islam* (1950), 287.

³³Ibid., 289.

³⁴Ibid., 276.

³⁵Much more research needs to be done on Lesovsky. He did not publish near as much in English as Bethmann, but he did publish in German, which I was not able to access for this article.

³⁶An interesting side note to Ising is the fact that his daughter, Dorothea Ising, served as the private nurse for the grandson of King Abdullah of Transjordan, and actually lived in the palace for a period of time. This was a rare example of an Adventist living and working with a Muslim family in such close quarters. See Bethmann, *Bridge to Islam* (1950), 277. For more on Ising’s contributions to the work in the Middle East, see Tompkins, “Adventist Approaches, Part I,” 333–348.

and, thus, he was raised as an Adventist. At a time when missionaries were still the primary official church workers in India, and certainly the ones doing most of the publishing, Mookerjee's name is often found, rather remarkably, as the author of many denominational articles. It was uncommon at that time to find an Indian publishing as much as Mookerjee in periodicals, such as *The Advent Review* and *Ministry*.

Mookerjee was a well-educated and articulate man who was aware of many of the challenges that the church faced in the Hindu and, to a lesser extent, Muslim contexts. He recognized that the church appeared foreign to Indians and that there was much within Indian culture and even Hinduism that was of positive value. He spoke openly about the need for more local leaders, concluding that much of the failure of the missionaries related to their inability to understand "the people [of India] and gain their confidence and affection."³⁷ Mookerjee felt that "next to the Holy Spirit, genuine Christian politeness goes farther toward converting the Hindus."³⁸

Many of his articles reveal that Mookerjee was a student of Hindu sacred texts and knew much about the beliefs and practices of Hindus.³⁹ He wrote articles that described, in detail, beliefs and practices that were meant to help the church get a clearer understanding of what Hindus actually believed. While Mookerjee did not have a lot to say directly about methods, he did advocate a Bible study approach with Hindus that was more chronological in nature, starting with Gen 1 and moving forward.⁴⁰ He recognized the need for new approaches and even employed Hindu terminology in his writing, such as referring to Christ as "our divine Guru" and "the attainment of mukti (salvation) . . . is offered free of cost by Christ."⁴¹ This was highly unusual for an Adventist at this time, but was not uncommon in Christian writing in India at the time, as a reading of the works of writers such as Sadhu Sunder Singh, N. V. Tilak, V. Chakkarai, and E. Stanley Jones reveals. He felt that the work of spreading literature was also a priority.

Mookerjee's career in India produced much in the area of education, where, with his American wife, he helped to establish several prominent educational institutions. After his wife contracted a major illness, Mookerjee would go to the U.S. for a brief stay. After the death of his first wife, Mookerjee remarried and returned to India, where he worked in a number of capacities to the end of his career. He was one of the first Indian leaders of the

³⁷L. G. Mookerjee, "Proper Approach to the Hindu Mind," *Ministry* 12.4 (1939): 11.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 11–12.

³⁹For an example of Mookerjee's knowledge in Hindu sacred texts, see *ibid.*

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 12.

⁴¹*Idem*, "Proper Approach to Hindu Mind: Continued from Last Month," *Ministry* 12.5 (1939): 16. He ended this article with the following statement: "We, as Indians, see in Christ 'our Oriental Brother'" (*ibid.*, 17).

Seventh-day Adventist Church in India and was one of the more outspoken in his push for mission among Hindus.⁴²

F. H. Loasby

F. H. Loasby was the older brother of R. E. Loasby, and was also interested in other religions. Because he worked most of his career, more than thirty years, in parts of North India that are now known as Punjab and Pakistan, his primary interests lay in the work among Sikhs and Muslims.

Like many others of the time, his published work lacks much in the area of new approaches and methods. At the same time he clearly recognized a need for something different, even if he did not know what that was. As noted in the first part of this article, in the section on the Biennial Council of the Southern Asia Division, F. H. Loasby was the leader of the discussion on Islam. He was adamant that argumentative approaches to Muslims would not work and that, in order to work in Muslim contexts, it was essential to become versed in the Qur'an and Islamic history. He later published an article in *Ministry* on Islam that reemphasized the need for the workers among Muslims to be well-versed in the Qur'an and Muslim history.⁴³ At the same time, Loasby was reluctant to go too far with this method. In another article, he wanted to be clear that he did not equate the God of the Bible with the god of the Qur'an.⁴⁴

His overall impact is hard to ascertain, however, there seems to have been little follow-up to his advice. The church in Pakistan and North India, where he worked, has not developed many new approaches, and has had a limited impact in either the Islamic or Sikh contexts to this day.

R. B. Thurber

R. B. Thurber spent most of his career in India as well. Thurber published articles on several occasions that dealt with other religions. But unlike those discussed above, his focus was on the negative aspects of these religions and their evidential demise, in his eyes. He was quick to fault other Christians, such as E. Stanley Jones, for "compromising" the Christian faith by using inappropriate contextualized methods.⁴⁵

⁴²For more, see Gordon E. Christo, "Lal Gopal Mookerjee," *Southern Asia Adventist Heritage Blog*, <http://sudheritage.blogspot.com/>.

⁴³F. H. Loasby, "The Challenge of Islam," *Ministry* 10.4 (1937): 10, 22. In a footnote within this article, Loasby explains that the terms he has chosen to use is out of a desire to be more respectful to Muslims. See *ibid.*, 10n.

⁴⁴F. H. Loasby, "The Anomalies of Islam," *Ministry* 12.8 (1939): 4.

⁴⁵R. B. Thurber, "Religious Trends in India—No. 2," *Ministry* 10.12 (1937): 9–10. Thurber did not use the word contextualize, as it had not yet been coined, but the ideas he was opposed to were contextualized methods. E. Stanley Jones was a well-known Methodist missionary who lived most of his adult life in India. He is best known for his creative use of the Christian "ashram" approach to mission that he promoted. Ironically, four years earlier the *AR* had published a short three paragraph

It is important to take note of Thurber for two reasons. One, because of the frequency with which he published on the topic of other religions, which could mean that the church would have been impacted by his viewpoint. And two, he probably represents what, in many ways, was the predominant viewpoint of Adventist mission workers of the time. A survey of articles related to Islam, Hinduism, or Buddhism during the twenty-year span of this article reveals a predominately negative view of other religions as heathenistic peoples to be avoided.⁴⁶

O. B. Kuhn

O. B. Kuhn worked for many years in mainland China in the medical field. While Kuhn's name is not as prominent as those discussed above, he did write several articles on Buddhism as he encountered it in China. Most of his articles are descriptive in nature, simply detailing what he saw and experienced. Usually toward the end of the articles, however, he briefly assessed the Buddhists and their practices, and almost always this was a negative assessment. He was willing to enter Buddhist temples and attempt to learn about Buddhism, even if he struggled to view Buddhists as much more than souls entrapped in darkness. Kuhn is important in another way, in that he is one of very few Adventists who wrote on Buddhism with some regularity.⁴⁷

D. E. Rebok

D. E. Rebok will only receive brief mention here because his impact is outside the time period covered by this study. Rebok spent many years working in China, mainly in the area of education. His time there gave him a chance to witness and reflect on many other religious faiths as they were practiced in China. Eventually, he would return to the United States to take up the presidency of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary. It is during his early years as president that a new emphasis on mission and world religions, in particular, was reignited at the Seminary. A book of what may have been class lectures reveals that Rebok had spent much time thinking about other

quotation of Jones's, so apparently not everyone felt the same way about him. See E. Stanley Jones, "Living Our Religion," *AR* 110.33 (17 August 1933): 10.

⁴⁶For examples, see R. B. Thurber, "Religious Trends in India—No. 1," *Ministry* 10.11 (1937): 19, 23.

⁴⁷See O. B. Kuhn, "One Essential Difference," *AR* 107.43 (7 August 1930): 22. In this article, Kuhn was willing at least to enter a Buddhist temple. See also idem, "Revival of Buddhism," *AR* 108.21 (21 May 1931): 19. In this article, Kuhn documents the perceived revival of Buddhism in China, but there is very little about mission. See also idem, "A Chinese Christian Funeral Service," *AR* 110.14 (6 April 1933): 10. While a word search for "Buddhist" or "Buddhism" at General Conference Office of Archives, Statistics, and Research, "Online Archives," <https://www.documents.adventistarchives.org>, gets a number of hits, few of them actually contain detailed thoughts on methods or approaches to Buddhists. Kuhn is a rare exception to this trend.

religions and how Adventists should approach them.⁴⁸ For the most part, he did not see any value in other religions and believed that they could be judged as false based on their fruits, which, for him, was demonstrated in the “uncivilized” countries dominated by non-Christians.⁴⁹ His writing, in some respects, is reminiscent of Hendrik Kraemer’s work.

Key Trends

Initial research points to a few trends that deserve more careful and detailed research going forward. This section reviews several broad trends, as well as taking a closer look at each of the three major religions—Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism—and the trends of Adventist approaches to each of them. A summary of the trends that have been isolated here concludes this section.

Eclipse of Other Religions

Adventists published or quoted other published works which foretold the demise of other religions on a frequent basis. This concept grew out of an anthropological approach to religions that had its roots in evolutionary theory. The theory presupposed that religions were also on an evolutionary track, moving from the most basic form of religion—animism—on an upward scale toward the most civilized religion, Christianity. In the early part of the twentieth century, it was common to see this theory being propagated in Christian literature, devoid of direct reference to the evolutionary theory behind it. The supposed demise of other religions was even being “documented,” yet it became more and more obvious that this was not the reality.

Some Adventists were slow to recognize that other religions were not dying out and continued to predict the downfall of major religions. Statements such as “the arrows point to the slow disintegration of Hinduism,”⁵⁰ or “Islam is hopelessly divided and impotent”⁵¹ were not uncommon. The theory was, for the most part, abandoned after the two World Wars revealed that the “Christian” West was not immune to imperfections and “Western” religion was unable to stave off such atrocities as the Holocaust.

⁴⁸For more on Rebok’s work in China, see Handel Luke, “A History of Seventh-day Adventist Higher Education in the China Mission, 1888–1980,” (PhD diss., Andrews University, 1982).

⁴⁹For a more detailed description of Rebok’s view of other religions and the mission task to them, see D. E. Rebok, *Go—Make Christians in all Nations: The Mission Enterprise of the Christian Church*, unpublished manuscript (accessed through James White Library, Andrews University).

⁵⁰Thurber, “Religious Trends in India—No. 1,” 19. See also T. M. French, “Continual Growth in Christian Character and Service,” *AR* 112.15 (11 April 1935): 5–6. F. C. Gilbert claimed that “Idolatry and the caste system are really crumbling” (“Southern Asia Division Annual Committee Meeting,” *AR* 117.17 [25 April 1940]: 22).

⁵¹T. M. French, “The Seven Trumpets and Their Meaning: Part IV—The Sixth Trumpet,” *AR* 112.33 (15 August 1935): 9–11.

However, this was a significant theory for Adventist approaches to other religions. For those who believed that other religions were fading out, there was little incentive to develop new methods for reaching out to adherents of a dying religion. Mindsets that viewed other religious adherents as “coming from savagery, from heathenism,” were allowed to continue because they were a dying breed.⁵² In effect, this was a barrier to mission, which took a long time to subside.

Description without Method

Much of the Adventist literature—especially that in the 1930s, but also into the 1940s—was primarily descriptive of other religions and did not offer any type of approach to these other faiths. This literature was often based on observation or study of a given religion’s sacred texts, through the lens, primarily, of Western missionaries. Many missionaries detailed visits to temples or the witnessing of prayer times at mosques. It was a time of learning and growing in the basic understanding of many new religious forms that most Adventists were not familiar with.⁵³

Because Adventism was born and established in North America, it is not surprising that the encounter with other religions created a sense of shock and bewilderment. Key periodicals such as *The Advent Review* and *The Signs of the Times* were interested in publishing articles that were more like *National Geographic* in nature than characteristic of a faith-based periodical. This would have been the only way Adventist members in North America learned about other religions, hence their significance.

While most of the articles in this genre tended toward negativity in their descriptions of other religions, there were exceptions. Some authors were able to recognize important similarities between the practices and beliefs of Christians and others, as they reflected on what they observed. Many, however, only saw “heathens” who were engaging in idol worship or worse, and their descriptions of the other religions betray a colonialistic ethnocentrism.

Lack of Success and the Overwhelming Challenge

As the 1930s moved into the 1940s, a steady flow of articles, either on particular religions or non-Christians in general, bemoaned the total lack of success experienced by the church.⁵⁴ Prior to 1930, these types of articles were

⁵²J. L. McElhany, “Our World Problem,” *AR* 115.29 (21 July 1938): 6. The title of another article reveals much about the presuppositions of the times, see Medical Missionary, “Blasting at the Rock of Heathenism,” *AR* 107.9 (27 February 1930): 16.

⁵³For examples of this type of writing, see T. A. Lambie, “A Moslem View of Mohammedanism,” *AR* 110.49 (7 December 1933): 2; W. B. Votaw, “Modern Movements in Hinduism,” *Ministry* 13.1 (1940): 4–6; Ruth Simon Mazat, “What is Confucianism?” *Ministry* 21.9 (1948): 13–15; Marcadene Wood, “Buddhism and Its Teachings,” *Ministry* 21.12 (1948): 19–20.

⁵⁴For examples, see C. L. Torrey, “A New Day Dawning for India,” *AR* 112.37 (12 September 1935): 10; E. E. Hargreaves, “The Advent Message and the Moslem

not as common, mainly because insufficient time had elapsed since the entry and exposure of Adventist missionaries to other lands and religions. But by the late 1930s, it had become apparent to many that these world religions were not only going to continue to survive, but even thrive.⁵⁵ This created an overwhelming challenge to many who realized that the current methods and approaches were not effective.⁵⁶

This recognition of a developing crisis in the church, led some Adventists to realize that there were whole portions of the world's population who were almost completely resistant to the Christian message.⁵⁷ In attempts to address the challenge, most authors were unable to see beyond the common ways of doing mission that the Adventist Church had developed over the previous fifty years. Education, health facilities, the sale and distribution of literature,⁵⁸ and public evangelism were repeatedly promoted as the only ways to do mission.

Most of the "success" stories found in the relevant literature during that time period were about individual conversions from Hindu, Muslim, or Buddhist backgrounds.⁵⁹ They often contained details of the tremendous amount of persecution and ill treatment that the convert had endured. There was almost no literature that detailed any long term or semi-long term successes among any of the major world religions during that time period—a trend that generally held true with all Christians, not just Adventists.

World," *AR* 123.16 (18 April 1946): 16.

⁵⁵In the December issue of *Ministry* in 1939 there is an extensive quote from the periodical *The Presbyterian*, which gave statistical details of all the various religions that were represented in the United States and the challenge this posed for mission. See "Home Missions," *Ministry* 12.12 (1939): 37.

⁵⁶In the Hindu context, there were several issues relating to caste and gender, which the church struggled to know how to handle. See E. M. Meleen, "Facing India's Problem—No. 2," *Ministry* 12.12 (1939): 15–17.

⁵⁷Interestingly, there was even a recognition that all the world's major religions were more and more represented in the United States and that this posed a huge mission challenge, see Louis Halswick, "Foreign Literature Work in the North American Field," *AR* 117.20 (16 May 1940): 21.

⁵⁸In India, several articles mention the distribution of literature at the large *melas* (festivals) at which millions of pilgrims were present. This was considered one of the best methods of evangelism. There is very little data to support that this actually resulted in conversions. For examples of this, see J. C. Craven, "With Our Believers in India," *AR* 112.13 (28 March 1935): 13–14. O. O. Mattison tells an incredible story where he asks an owner of an airplane if they can drop literature from the airplane onto the crowds of a festival gathering. See O. O. Mattison, "Tract Distribution by Airplane," *AR* 124.1 (2 January 1947): 20.

⁵⁹There is even a claim that some Buddhists in the United States had been baptized, although there are no details given. See Louis Halswick, "More Cheering Reports," *AR* 122.16 (19 April 1945): 24. For other examples, see Gentry G. Lowry, "Turning from Darkness to Light," *AR* 117.2 (11 January 1940): 12–13; Vera Chilton, "Soul Winning in Islam: He First Findeth His Own Brother," *AR* 107.13 (27 March 1930): 26–27; A. L. Ham, "First Pathan (Moslem) to Accept the Message," *AR* 122.27 (5 July 1945): 13–14.

Major change in methods and approaches would have to wait for the future. However, in order for change to take place, recognition of the problem was needed. By the 1940s, this recognition was taking place on a regular basis. While some Adventists simply accepted that other religions were basically impossible to evangelize and, therefore, time should not be wasted by trying to do so,⁶⁰ many others were not willing to settle for that type of fatalism. In the Islamic context, there was an intentional focus on the challenge at hand, and this momentum eventually led to new approaches in the late 1930s and into the 1940s.

Trends in Approaches to Islam: Momentum Building

For much of the early part of the 1930s, Islam was frequently mentioned in Adventist periodicals, but not in a missional context. Because of the way world events were unfolding, especially in Turkey, there was a major emphasis on the role of Islam in prophecy. Prior to the Adventist Bible Conference of 1952, a majority of Adventists taught that Armageddon was a literal battle that would take place in the Middle East just before the Second Coming. Any little change or stirring in the Middle East often resulted in a slew of articles on Islam and Armageddon. Some were historically accurate, while others were not. Either way, when hearing the term “Islam,” most Adventists probably thought of prophecy and not mission.⁶¹

As time progressed, articles on Islam and prophecy continued, but more on Islam and mission began to be written. W. K. Ising and George Keough were some of the earliest advocates for a more focused mission to Muslims. Ising also helped to mentor two young men, Willy Lesovsky and Erich Bethmann, who probably became the most important early figures in Adventist mission to Muslims. Willy Lesovsky and his wife started a kindergarten school specifically for Muslim children, however, the long-term results of this endeavor are unknown.⁶² While neither Bethmann nor Lesovsky could point to any major successes among Muslims, they did learn a lot about Islam and pushed the church to increase its general knowledge of Islam and to also alter its methodology and approach to Muslims.⁶³

⁶⁰Francis D. Nichol records that he spoke to a native Protestant worker in the Middle East who categorically stated that they refused to even work for Muslims. He uses this as a lead in to a comment that ninety-nine percent of the membership was being drawn from ten percent of the non-Muslim population (Francis D. Nichol, “Across the Syrian Desert,” *AR* 124.42 [16 October 1947]: 6).

⁶¹For examples of this, see Heber H. Votaw, “The Future of Islam,” *AR* 108.19 (7 May 1931): 3; C. P. Bollman, “Islam’s Rebirth in Turkey,” *AR* 110.11 (16 March 1933): 4. Amazingly, a few weeks later Bollman published a statement retracting certain “facts” that were inaccurate in the above article, which were crucial to the whole premise of the article. See C. P. Bollman, Untitled, *AR* 110.16 (20 April 1933): 24; T. M. French, “Studies in the Book of Daniel: The Eleventh Chapter—Demise of the Turk,” *AR* 112.4 (24 January 1935): 3–5; W. L. Emmerson, “The Magnet of Armageddon,” *AR* 124.11 (13 March 1947): 7–8.

⁶²Bethmann, *Bridge to Islam* (1950), 276.

⁶³In the December 1937 issue of *Ministry*, there is another article about mission

In the Southern Asia Division, there were stirrings concerning mission among Muslims as well. F. H. Loasby, R. E. Loasby, and L. G. Mookerjee all published articles on Islam and the challenge of mission to Muslims.⁶⁴ In the long run, however, very little was started in the way of intentional mission to Muslims in this part of the world, and, by the late 1940s, little was being published on this challenge in the Southern Asia context. Even in the Far Eastern Division there was an attempt to improve mission to Muslims, which even included “quiet talks with Mohammedan *hadjis*, *imams*, and old men” because “different methods” needed to be used.⁶⁵

The Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, on several different occasions, focused on Islam and mission. They invited the “Apostle to Muslims,” Samuel Zwemer, to do a special lecture series for the Seminary students and then published those presentations in the most prestigious Adventist journal at the time, *Ministry*. During WWII, George Keough came to the United States as an appointee to the Seminary in order to help with the offered courses that focused on Islamics and the Arabic language. Some students focused on Islam in their academic studies and wrote MA theses that dealt with aspects of Islam.⁶⁶ R. E. Loasby was also behind a push to specifically train several families in the study of Arabic and Islam with the intention of sending them to the Middle East to work among Muslims.

Unfortunately, there is little evidence that any of these families actually engaged in direct work with Muslims. After Bethmann was released from seven years of internment in India during WWII, he came to the United States and published the most in-depth book on Islam that had been published by

to Muslims, in which it is advocated that use of the “Koran” is a must in order to reach Muslims (J. F. Hunergardt, “Approach to Mohammedans,” *Ministry* 10.12 [1937]: 10, 26). The author of this article, J. F. Hunergardt, deserves to be researched more. Initial efforts turned up very little about him.

⁶⁴See L. G. Mookerjee, “Among the Muslims of India,” *AR* 115.7 (17 February 1938): 14–15.

⁶⁵L. B. Mershon, “Capitalize Mohammedan Beliefs,” *Ministry* 11.2 (1938): 10, 42–43. Vernon Hendershot also wrote an article with the context of the Far East in mind, in which he stated you could show the “superiority of Christ” in the “Koran.” See Vernon E. Hendershot, “The Challenge of the Moslem World,” *AR* 122.4 (25 January 1945): 8, 15.

⁶⁶For examples of this, see Wadie Farag, “Eschatological Teachings of Islam,” (MA thesis, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, 1949). This thesis was primarily a study of the Qur’anic view of eschatology, but it also compared the Islamic view with that of the Bible. The author felt that there were many similarities between the Qur’anic understanding of the final judgment and the biblical view. His thesis is very sympathetic to the Islamic view and is therefore an important part of this study. Erich Bethmann also completed his MA thesis during this time. See Erich W. Bethmann, “The Mohammedan Menace at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century and its Influence Upon the Protestant Reformation,” (MA thesis, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, 1950). Bethmann’s thesis, however, is not directly about Islam, but rather about the historical engagement between Europe and the Turkish Empire that occurred during the early part of the Reformation.

an Adventist at the time.⁶⁷ Bethmann was strong in affirming the need for mission, but also recognized that there was much in Islam to be admired and that many of the beliefs of Muslims as found in the Qur'an were potential bridges between the two faiths.

Judging from published periodicals and books, it appears that Islam received the most attention of the world religions during this time period. As a result, Adventist approaches to Islam were on a stronger footing than those to any other religion, when entering the 1950s.

Trends in Approaches to Hindus: Many Challenges, Few Solutions

While connections between prophecy and Hinduism were much less than those between prophecy and Islam, Hinduism was not immune to conspiracy-like theories. Some academics outside of Adventism turned toward Eastern religions during the early twentieth century. Some Adventist thought leaders postulated that this was the beginning of a trend toward pluralism and ecumenism, a sign of the end of time.⁶⁸

For the most part, however, Hindus were left out of the prophetic predictions. There were some Adventists during this time period who looked a little deeper and recognized a genuine search for spirituality among Hindus. R. E. Loasby and L. G. Mookerjee were the most prominent writers in this camp.

T. R. Flaiz, who was instrumental in establishing a boarding school and hospital in India that have survived to the present, also took time to research Hindu sacred texts and beliefs. He wrote an article in *The Advent Review* that details several bridges he felt existed between the ancient Hindu religion and the Bible. These included the correct understanding of sacrifice and even the keeping of the Sabbath, as Flaiz saw certain castes who refused to work for a certain amount of hours on the seventh day of the week.⁶⁹ Unfortunately, there is no record of Flaiz exploring these bridges with actual Hindus.

The Southern Asia Biennial Council of 1933 took seriously the challenge of Hinduism and began discussing proposals for rethinking mission approaches. This was a time of upheaval in India as the nation moved toward independence and low castes began fighting for more rights. Some Adventists saw this as a sign that the time was ripe for many to leave Hinduism and join the church.⁷⁰

⁶⁷Idem, *Bridge to Islam* (1950).

⁶⁸For examples of this, see Marian Offer, "The Yoga System of Philosophy," *Ministry* 21.2 (1948): 36–37. In this article, Offer attempts to describe the connection between yoga and Hindu mythology. W. A. Spicer, "Meeting Present-day Revivals of Ancient Error—No. 2," *AR* 123.9 (28 February 1946): 4–5. In another article, Spicer even hints that the sun worship of some in India is an old error that will return to prominence. See W. A. Spicer, "Where Rites of Sun Worship Still Persist," *AR* 125.24 (10 June 1948): 3.

⁶⁹T. R. Flaiz, "Hindu Sabbath Observance," *AR* 111.2 (11 January 1934): 14.

⁷⁰G. F. Enoch wrote a fairly lengthy article for *Ministry* in 1936 on caste issues in India. See G. F. Enoch, "Concerning India's Untouchables," *Ministry* 9.11 (1936): 10, 22.

Loasby published a number of articles that carefully analyzed Hindu beliefs and practices and were meant to help people understand this ancient faith.

S. Thomas recognized that much of Adventist mission work up to that time had been overly focused on the negative aspects of Hinduism. He advocated for less focus on the perceived evils of Hinduism and more emphasis on Christ. He even listed several theological themes that he felt should be the focus in mission to Hindus. The second half of his article, however, fails to keep the momentum going. Thomas reverts back into promoting “open-air preaching,” and “distribution of literature” as the best methods for reaching Hindus.⁷¹

In general, the momentum that appeared to be building in Adventist approaches to Hindus began to slow down. This is in contrast to the Adventist approaches to Muslims, where the momentum pressed forward in a more dynamic way.

Trends in Approaches to Buddhists: The Least Developed

Of the three major religions discussed here, mission to Buddhists was the least developed. Theodore R. Flaiz lamented the lack of success among Buddhists in Siam (present-day Thailand). However, Flaiz offered very little in the way of a solution and instead reemphasizes medical work, which had been present for many years in Siam already.⁷² Buddhism does not appear to have received the sustained study that either Islam or Hinduism received. There are significantly fewer articles on Buddhists that contain missiological approaches.

In the few relevant articles, there was a tendency to see a few positive elements in Buddhist thinking, but these were overshadowed by the “satanic” elements, to use the language of one author.⁷³ O. B. Kuhn felt there was heavy satanic influence in the Buddhism he witnessed at a funeral in China.⁷⁴ M. E. Kern went so far as to say that the people of Burma were “in spiritual stupor through the opiate of Buddhism.”⁷⁵

More study needs to be done to determine why Buddhists and Buddhism appear to receive less treatment. The conclusions of this research point to Adventist approaches to Buddhists being the least developed of those to the three major world religions during this time.

Move towards Fundamentalist Exclusivism

The twenty-year period studied for this article reveals that there was a wide variety of understandings of other religions being promoted. Most Adventists leaned toward the view that other religions were in decline and would soon

⁷¹S. Thomas, “Reaching the Non-Christians of India,” *Ministry* 14.11 (1941): 5–6.

⁷²Theodore R. Flaiz, “Bangkok Sanitarium,” *Ministry* 21.7 (1948): 27.

⁷³Otto H. Christensen, “Lamaism—Satan’s Great Counterfeit—No. 1,” *Ministry* 13.4 (1940): 5–6.

⁷⁴Kuhn, “A Chinese Funeral Service,” 10.

⁷⁵M. E. Kern, “Progress of the Threefold Message,” *AR* 111.45 (8 November 1934): 11.

disappear. A few seemed to adhere to a type of fulfillment theology, although certainly not on the scale of Farquhar's *The Crown of Hinduism*.

A few others had what is now called a more "inclusivistic view;" they saw God at work in other religions even before Jesus was introduced to them. Flaiz was able to publish an article in the *AR* that was basically a lengthy quotation of a Hindu prince. He prefaces the article with these words, "The truths and high ideals set forth below would be acceptable from the pen of the most devoted Christian writer. However, in fact, they were spoken by the maharajah of Bobbili, a powerful Hindu prince of Southern India."⁷⁶ Another fascinating exception is found in an article by H. G. Woodward entitled "Let Us Talk of Christ: India's Secret Disciples," which leans heavily towards a view that recognizes God at work among Hindus before they hear of Christ.⁷⁷

Towards the end of the 1940s, however, the effect of the debate between Fundamentalism and Modernism had taken its toll. This had major repercussions for Adventist theology as a whole and mission was not immune to it.⁷⁸ Statements such as, "We are as irreconcilably opposed to Modernism as any Fundamentalist could be" were not uncommon in Adventist publications of this time.⁷⁹ The writings of Rebok, who was president of the Seminary in the late 1940s, revealed a strong exclusivism that was akin to much of the fundamental Christian teaching of the time.⁸⁰ Rebok saw the world as being divided into two groups, those "who understand God" and those who do not. He also felt that with every minute that passed, many people around the world were being lost forever.⁸¹

In many ways, most Adventists were leaning already in this direction, and a prominent leader like Rebok was probably preaching to the choir. In the April 1949 issue of *Ministry*, there is a short quotation taken from the *Christian Digest* which is written in blatant exclusivistic terms.⁸² Where

⁷⁶Theodore R. Flaiz, "A Hindu Prince's Conception of God," *AR* 111.6 (8 February 1934): 13.

⁷⁷H. G. Woodward, "Let Us Talk of Christ: India's Secret Disciples," *AR*, 118.45 (11 September 1941): 10–11, 15. Woodward was willing to write that, "Throughout the length and breadth of India there are those who, while having no contact with the missionary, are nevertheless under the spell of Christ" (*ibid.*, 11). He even quotes C. F. Andrews, who was a proponent of fulfillment theology. See *ibid.*, 15.

⁷⁸Actually, all through the 1920s and 1930s there was a push towards fundamentalism among Adventists, which in many ways reached its peak in the 1940s.

⁷⁹Francis D. Nichol, "Macintosh Once More," *AR* 108.50 (10 December 1931): 12. To Nichol's credit, in the same article he actually defends non-Christians right to citizenship in the United States, which was in opposition to the predominate Fundamentalist outspokenness against their right to citizenship.

⁸⁰See Rebok, *Go—Make Christians in all Nations*.

⁸¹D. E. Rebok, "The Christian and Non-Christian Worlds," *AR* 124.47 (20 November 1947): 6–8. See also Rebok, "The Missionary a Link between the Christian and Non-Christian World," *AR* 124.47 (27 November 1947): 11–13.

⁸²"Tremendous Challenge," *Ministry* 22.4 (1949): 40.

this emphasis would lead, and how it would affect the understanding and approaches to other religions by Adventists, remains for another study that would look at the decades after the 1940s.

Summary

The evolution-based theory of religions was an unconscious player in the trends of Adventist understandings of religion, and appears to have played a role in how mission among other religions was undertaken in many regions of the world. Alongside this was the tendency to describe religions without discussing the possible methods or approaches that would be most appropriate for missions to them. This can partly be explainable by considering the historical background of Adventism in North America. It took time for Adventists to observe and describe what they were seeing, in many cases for the first time.

Eventually, there was a recognition that the common missional methods to which Adventists were accustomed were not working in the context of other major religions. This became a more frequent topic for writing, but little actually changed in methodological development. The work of moving forward would be left for subsequent decades. Islam, in many ways, was the religion that received the most attention by Adventists. Much of this was prophecy-related, but, even in the realm of mission, Adventist thinking about Islam eclipsed both Hinduism and Buddhism.

Overall, there was a leaning toward fundamentalism that bred exclusivism.⁸³ This was not surprising considering the context of the times in which there was a major confrontation between the ideologies of fundamentalism and modernism. The repercussions of this were beginning to manifest themselves in the discussions of other religions by the 1940s.

Conclusion

This study was undertaken to begin uncovering the history of Adventist approaches to other religions. This article has attempted to place Adventist approaches in the context of the wider Christian movement, recognizing that Adventists did not engage in mission in a vacuum, but rather were influenced by the wider Christian movements around them as they related to other religions. While it is difficult to trace direct connections, the evidence points toward both fulfilment theology and a more exclusivistic theology influencing Adventist approaches to other religions.

⁸³For an example of an article with a strong bent towards exclusivist language see F. C. Gilbert, "He Was Moved with Compassion," *AR* 117.23 (6 June 1940): 12–13. Gilbert uses language such as "among these worshipers may be seen intelligent men and women; but they are heathen" and "a mass of humanity, all of them headed for Christless graves."

BOOK REVIEWS

Annan, Kent. *Slow Kingdom Coming: Practices for Doing Justice, Loving Mercy and Walking Humbly in the World*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2016. 149 pp. Softcover. USD 14.40.

Over the years I have donated funds, spent time and energy marching in demonstrations, been personally involved in inner-city ministries, and served the poor as a senior advisor for the Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA). I have spent time in the worst slums this world knows. This is a book that I could have used many years ago.

Kent Annan's book is, at the same time, troubling, helpful, and liberating. Troubling, as it reminds us of how difficult and demanding our involvement in social justice can be, but liberating as he leads his reader through five helpful practices he has discovered. These helpful practices do not speed up the kingdom, but they make the process understandable, realistic, and more satisfying. Annan reminds us that the best change is generally slow change. The practices are attention, confession, respect, partnering, and truthing. Annan tells us, "The five practices in this book can help you find the freedom to handle *what you can* and *what you're called to*—and then handle this *well*—as we respond faithfully to risks and opportunities around us" (11).

Attention is the art of focusing, giving ourselves opportunity to really see and grasp what is happening, and what should be happening. It does not happen quickly or easily.

Confession is the admission that we are often complicit, in little-understood ways, in the problem, particularly when we do not admit our own ignorance, our own lack of real understanding of the problem or issue. Confession involves admitting our mixed motives and the unavoidable sinfulness (humanness) of any of our responses. Confession comes when we are willing to admit that the people we are attempting to help probably know more about the problem and solutions than we do.

Respect can only grow out of the practice of confession. Here we learn to see the inherent intelligence of the people we seek to help. Here we learn to work "for" and "with," even "under" them, rather than "at" them. The chapter on respect was, in my opinion, one of the most insightful. It emphasizes the need to slow down, so we can see and hear the problem, before rushing in with answers to questions that no one is asking, a common Western response. It talks of the need to learn the proper (local) manner of showing respect.

Partnering recognizes the common tendency for us to do more *for* a community, or *to* a community, when what is needed is to work *with* a community. This moves us beyond a "messiah" mentality, a common Western misconception. We pretend to have all the answers, even before the right questions have been asked. Annan takes the practice of partnership to new depths and breadths.

The chapter on truthing emphasizes the need for continuous evaluation and offers us excellent examples of both the need and the effective process. This is often the more difficult of the disciplines and involves openness to

criticism. One of my students wrote to me that his project had collapsed in failure. He was moving on. I insisted that he had not failed if there were lessons to be learned and shared. I insisted that he return to the project and do a thorough analysis of why it had failed and write it up for the benefit of others. This, too, is part of truthing.

Ethicists and practitioners of social justice, socially involved pastors, workers and volunteers in relief and development, and even average persons who want to make a difference in the world, will find this a rewarding read.

Berrien Springs, Michigan

BRUCE CAMPBELL MOYER

Gitin, Seymour, ed. *The Ancient Pottery of Israel and Its Neighbors from the Iron Age through the Hellenistic Period*. 2 vols. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2015. 794 pp. Hardcover. USD 240.00.

This two-volume set is the long-gestated replacement for Ruth Amiran's seminal work *The Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land*. In the preface and editor's notes, Seymour Gitin lays out the rules for the "new 'ceramic bible'" and the history of its creation (1). He mentions that there are volumes dealing with the Neolithic Period through the Late Bronze Age that are in preparation. Gitin discusses the gargantuan effort undertaken in collecting pottery drawings from hundreds of new excavations that have been carried out in the fifty years since Amiran's volume. Over 6,000 pottery drawings are included in these two volumes and each had to be redrawn for consistency, a truly monumental task. Volume One goes from the Iron Age I through the Late Iron Age IIC, covering each of the different regions on either side of the Jordan River. Volume Two looks at imports from the Mediterranean world and the pottery of the Persian and Hellenistic Periods. Two choices were made here, the first geographical/cultural and the second chronological. In terms of geography, the area being discussed was divided into eight regions (Transjordan, the Negev, Philistia, Judah, Samaria, Jezreel Valley, Northern Coastal Plain, and Galilee). The rationale for this specific division was never explained. In terms of chronology, despite (or perhaps because of) disagreement between authors, Gitin chose to use the "traditional dating published in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, Vols. 1-5*." I understand the reason for doing this and having some kind of consistency between the chapters was necessary.

Following the introductory section, the first volume contains the following chapters. Iron Age I: Northern Coastal Plain, Galilee, Samaria, Jezreel Valley, Judah, and Negev (Amihai Mazar); Iron Age I: Philistia (Trude Dothan and Alexander Zukerman); Iron Age I: Transjordan (Larry G. Herr); Iron Age IIA-B: Northern Coastal Plain (Gunnar Lehmann); Iron Age IIA-B: Northern Valleys and Upper Galilee (Amnon Ben-Tor and Anabel Zarzecki-Peleg); Iron Age IIA-B: Samaria (Ron E. Tappy); Iron Age IIA-B: Judah and the Negev (Ze'ev Herzog and Lily Singer-Avitz); Iron Age IIA-B: Philistia (Seymour Gitin); Iron Age IIA-B: Transjordan (Larry G. Herr); Iron Age IIC: Northern Coast, Carmel Coast, Galilee, and Jezreel Valley (Ayelet Gilboa); Iron Age IIC: Samaria (Ron E. Tappy); Iron Age IIC: Judah

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(Seymour Gitin); Iron Age IIC: Northeastern Negev (Itzhaq Beit-Arieh and Liora Freud); Iron Age IIC: Philistia (Seymour Gitin); and Iron Age IIC: Transjordan (Piotr Bienkowski).

Volume two focuses on imports and later periods. The chapters in this volume are: Iron Age I–II Phoenician Pottery (Ephraim Stern); Iron Age I–II Cypriot Imports and Local Imitations (Ayelet Gilboa); Iron Age I–II: Greek Imports (Jane C. Waldbaum); Iron Age IIC Assyrian-Type Pottery (Ephraim Stern); Iron Age IB–IIC Egyptian and Egyptian-Type Pottery (Eliezer D. Oren); Persian Period (Ephraim Stern); Persian Period Imports (Renate Rosenthal-Heginbottom); Hellenistic Period (Andrea M. Berlin); and Hellenistic Period Imported Pottery (Renate Rosenthal-Heginbottom).

These volumes contain many chapters following a similar theme. There is a discussion of the general chronology of the period, the main sites, technology, and typology. Following this narrative text are sections on each of the main forms found in the period. With only slight variations, this pattern plays out in each chapter; so I will examine a few of the chapters in depth as a representation of the whole.

Larry Herr wrote two of the three chapters on Transjordan. Of particular interest to students/scholars of the archaeology of Jordan is the chapter on the Iron Age IIA–B in Transjordan, as this is an underrepresented period in the published literature. This chapter contains a thorough summary of the sites in Jordan where Iron Age IIA–B material can be found and not much more detail, given the scarcity of pottery from settled sites in Jordan. The pottery here has many similarities with that found in Cisjordan, but one can also see how these forms continue to develop in the Iron Age IIC in Transjordan. The pottery plates are clearly marked either Iron Age IIA or Iron Age IIB, as opposed to the previous chapter on Iron Age IIA–B Philistia, where one has to go back and forth between the plates and the stratigraphy chart at the beginning of the chapter and where pottery from the two phases is often combined on the same plate. These two chapters also demonstrate the difficulty of putting together such a substantial pottery volume, as important sites are being (Ashkelon for Philistia) or have just been published (Tall Abu al-Kharaz from Transjordan) at the time this volume was being published.

Andrea Berlin's chapter on the Hellenistic Period catalogs an abundance of pottery, and more information than some other chapters. Besides discussing the pottery forms, Berlin includes sections on production centers and dating, along with providing corresponding tables. These tables are an incredibly helpful point of reference for the main sites of the period and their corresponding volumes. The Hellenistic chapters put greater emphasis on exact dating of the pottery than do the earlier chapters, since coins were more readily available in these sites and can be used as a more exact diachronic measure.

As I mentioned in the introduction, these volumes are a monumental achievement by Gitin and the various authors. Ruth Amiran's volume has lasted for fifty years and there is no reason why this new pottery series could not do the same. When the next edition is printed, however, comparative charts should be included as they would be extremely helpful. These could be

done between different geographic regions for the same time period and the same geographic regions across different time periods. Being able to visually observe changes over time and similarities and differences inter-regionally would be quite illuminating. I appreciated having the color photographs at the end, and I believe this section could be expanded online (and maybe the entire content of these volumes could be made available electronically). There is a lot of work and research being done in the analysis of pottery online, especially with the advent of 3D laser scanning and using computer programs to create highly accurate pottery drawings. These drawings could then be uploaded to the Pottery Informatics Query Database (or PIQD), where eventually all pottery drawings will be uploadable and searchable by any different metric. Perhaps these volumes should reflect this new reality in some way. At the very least, since all of the pottery drawings were re-inked for consistency, they should all be uploaded to the CRANE Project (www.crane.utoronto.ca) which is now hosting PIQD. Regardless of these minor critiques, I would highly recommend this book to anyone interested in the ancient pottery of Israel and Jordan. Students and scholars alike will benefit from having these volumes in their personal libraries.

Charlevoix, Michigan

OWEN CHESNUT

Irons, Charles Lee. *A Syntax Guide for Readers of the Greek New Testament*. Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2016. 629 pp. Hardcover. USD 39.99.

Sooner or later, most religion students will face biblical language classes during their education. Learning the new alphabets, memorizing the vocabulary, and translating the biblical text into modern languages often takes extra effort for the students enrolled in these classes. Unfortunately, the reality is that the majority of the students trained in biblical languages will forget most of what they have learned. Many of them become pastors and their exegetical sermon preparation, if they preach exegetically at all, will be based on modern translations of the biblical text. Professors and publishers have realized that, over time, this will become a real problem for Christianity. Therefore, we have recently seen a plethora of tools produced and published which intend to assist a trained theologian in reading the biblical text in its original language with as few interruptions as possible. Using these tools, the hope is that theologians will be able to not only keep their hard-learned skills in biblical languages, but also to improve their knowledge of Hebrew and Greek and to read the Bible in the original languages as part of their daily professional life.

In 2016, Kregel added another valuable tool that belongs in this category. Beside the two prominent reader's editions (Richard J. Goodrich and Albert L. Lukazewski, *A Reader's Greek New Testament*, 3rd ed. [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2015] and Barclay M. Newman and Florian Voss, *The Greek New Testament: A Reader's Edition* [Peabody: Hendrickson, 2015]), and a reader's lexicon (Michael H. Burer and Jeffrey E. Miller, *A New Reader's Lexicon of the Greek New Testament* [Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2008]), this brand-new *Syntax Guide for Readers of the Greek New Testament* will further assist readers of

done between different geographic regions for the same time period and the same geographic regions across different time periods. Being able to visually observe changes over time and similarities and differences inter-regionally would be quite illuminating. I appreciated having the color photographs at the end, and I believe this section could be expanded online (and maybe the entire content of these volumes could be made available electronically). There is a lot of work and research being done in the analysis of pottery online, especially with the advent of 3D laser scanning and using computer programs to create highly accurate pottery drawings. These drawings could then be uploaded to the Pottery Informatics Query Database (or PIQD), where eventually all pottery drawings will be uploadable and searchable by any different metric. Perhaps these volumes should reflect this new reality in some way. At the very least, since all of the pottery drawings were re-inked for consistency, they should all be uploaded to the CRANE Project (www.crane.utoronto.ca) which is now hosting PIQD. Regardless of these minor critiques, I would highly recommend this book to anyone interested in the ancient pottery of Israel and Jordan. Students and scholars alike will benefit from having these volumes in their personal libraries.

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Irons, Charles Lee. *A Syntax Guide for Readers of the Greek New Testament*. Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2016. 629 pp. Hardcover. USD 39.99.

Sooner or later, most religion students will face biblical language classes during their education. Learning the new alphabets, memorizing the vocabulary, and translating the biblical text into modern languages often takes extra effort for the students enrolled in these classes. Unfortunately, the reality is that the majority of the students trained in biblical languages will forget most of what they have learned. Many of them become pastors and their exegetical sermon preparation, if they preach exegetically at all, will be based on modern translations of the biblical text. Professors and publishers have realized that, over time, this will become a real problem for Christianity. Therefore, we have recently seen a plethora of tools produced and published which intend to assist a trained theologian in reading the biblical text in its original language with as few interruptions as possible. Using these tools, the hope is that theologians will be able to not only keep their hard-learned skills in biblical languages, but also to improve their knowledge of Hebrew and Greek and to read the Bible in the original languages as part of their daily professional life.

In 2016, Kregel added another valuable tool that belongs in this category. Beside the two prominent reader's editions (Richard J. Goodrich and Albert L. Lukazewski, *A Reader's Greek New Testament*, 3rd ed. [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2015] and Barclay M. Newman and Florian Voss, *The Greek New Testament: A Reader's Edition* [Peabody: Hendrickson, 2015]), and a reader's lexicon (Michael H. Burer and Jeffrey E. Miller, *A New Reader's Lexicon of the Greek New Testament* [Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2008]), this brand-new *Syntax Guide for Readers of the Greek New Testament* will further assist readers of

the Greek New Testament. After a short introduction (7–11), a list of cited works (13–16), and a list of abbreviations (17–19), concise notes on selected verses of each book of the New Testament are divided into twenty-seven chapters. The final part of the book is the index of subjects (607–629), where the syntactical categories are listed with their respective Bible references.

Regarding the nature of the notes, the author states a fourfold intention. First and foremost, the notes “assist readers of the Greek New Testament by providing brief explanations of intermediate and advanced syntactical features of the Greek text” (7). Second, Irons “also provides suggested translations to help the reader make sense of unusual phrases and difficult sentences” (7). These translations are primarily taken from the NASB, the ESV, and the NIV, among others (8). Third, some text critical issues are briefly discussed if they are related to syntactical discussions (7, 11). Finally, “limited exegesis” is included here and there (7). All this information should help “the reader to make sense of the Greek text at a level of linguistic communication one step higher than the word to the syntactical level of the phrase, clause, or sentence” (7). The recent developments in the field of biblical Greek, namely the challenge of the traditional linguistic categories, force every author to take a decision regarding the usage of linguistic terminology. Irons decides to use traditional linguistic terminology. By doing this, he uses similar terminology as Wallace and Blass, Debrunner, and Funk do in their Grammars.

After reading selectively through different genres of the Greek New Testament with the help of Irons’s *Syntax Guide for Readers of the Greek New Testament*, my experience was the following: First, I found the conciseness of the notes to be extremely helpful, along with the reference to dictionaries and grammars for further reading on certain syntactical features. However, I often wished Irons would have provided additional information as to why a certain translation suggestion is accurate. Second, although it definitely helps to improve the understanding of the Greek text, using Irons’s guide along with the text while reading still leads to many interruptions. To improve a reader’s experience, the solution would probably be to include Irons’s work within a reader’s edition of the Greek New Testament. Third, I realized that Irons’s selection of syntactical features for comment is subjective. Sometimes he adds a note which, from my perspective, is unnecessary, whereas, for example, a genitive absolute construction remained uncommented upon. The only solution I see for accommodating the individual levels of syntax knowledge among the readers of the Greek New Testament would be to create, within a Bible software, a customizable vocabulary and syntax guide. Irons’s work definitely qualifies as foundational work for such a project. Finally, my favorite feature, which will bring me back to Irons’s book many times in the future, is the very last part, the Index of Subjects. This index is a tremendous help for any Greek teacher who wants to create exercises on a certain syntactical construction for his or her students.

Overall, I see Irons’s *Syntax Guide for Readers of the Greek New Testament* as a first valuable step in the right direction. I hope to see this book available soon within major Bible software packages, which would make it more

user-friendly for the reader because of the possibility to hyperlink provided references to dictionaries, grammars, and commentaries.

Berrien Springs, Michigan

DOMINIC BORNAND

Kilchör, Benjamin. *Mosetora und Jahwetora: Das Verhältnis von Deuteronomium 12–26 zu Exodus, Levitikus und Numeri*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015. xviii + 390 pp. Hardcover. EUR 98.00.

The theory of the four original documents—J, E, D, and P—of the Pentateuch, as claimed in the Documentary Hypothesis, is fervently discussed these days. Did the documents of J and E ever exist separately? What was the chronological order of D and P? Do we understand the legal parallels in the Pentateuch as literary reuse or as shared tradition? When is it legitimate to speak of modifications and interpolations in the text? What is the proper dating of the Pentateuch and its parts? How do the synchronic and diachronic readings of the text fit together? Opinions about these and many other questions represent a wide spectrum. Pentateuchal scholarship today is characterized by increased divergence rather than convergence.

One of the more promising approaches to address these questions is the study of inner-biblical reuse, or inner-biblical exegesis and inter-textuality, as they are often called. Through a close reading of the text, we can detect indicators that one Pentateuchal passage intentionally reused, and possibly reworked, certain other sections of the Pentateuch. Thus, the relative chronology between Pentateuchal passages can be established before we attempt to answer questions of absolute chronology. Given the interest in such studies during the last decades, it is surprising that no one yet has undertaken a systematic study of all cases of legal reuse in the Pentateuch without already presupposing a compositional history and direction of dependence (12, 30). Kilchör's *Mosetora und Jahwetora* itself is limited to a focus upon reuse and direction of dependence between Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers on one side as compared to Deuteronomy on the other side. Nevertheless, it addresses questions of reuse and direction of dependence also within Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers where relevant. Further, it is comprehensive in the sense of covering all legal parallels in the Pentateuch, even if this inclusive scope also places certain limitations on how detailed each case can be studied. Qualified by these limitations, Kilchör's study can therefore be called the first systematic and comprehensive study of legal reuse and direction of dependence in the Pentateuch. As such, it sets a new standard in the field.

Instead of entering a discussion of particular cases, I want instead to briefly reflect on Kilchör's approach to the study of reuse and direction of dependence. He uses the following guidelines for analysis of direction of dependence (35): (a) no model for Pentateuchal composition should be presupposed; (b) no theory of the religion of history should be presupposed; (c) the final text as we have it should be our point of departure; (d) in cases where we have more than two parallels, all passages need to be taken into consideration. At the end of the book (330–332) he stresses (a) the importance of a methodological circle

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going from detail to whole and back to detail again, (b) that clearer cases of direction of dependence can aid in establishing the direction of dependence in more unclear cases, when belonging to the same textual unit as in the case of multiple parallel passages between Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers and Deuteronomy, (c) that more than two parallel texts increases the certainty upon which conclusions of directions of dependence can be drawn, and (d) that the length of texts cannot be used as a basis to conclude the direction of dependence in individual cases.

Between those arguing for strict criteria for establishing reuse and direction of dependence on one side and those arguing that such criteria cannot be used as a rule on the other side, Kilchör tends to side with the latter, arguing that we need to evaluate each case by case (35, 40). While a major weakness of the former can be an anachronically projected straightjacket forced upon the biblical texts, a major weakness of the latter is the freedom allotted the individual scholar's intuition in determining reuse and direction of dependence.

In my opinion, it is preferable to speak of *indicators* of reuse and direction of dependence. In this way, we can methodologically reflect on what can be said to be valid and non-valid phenomena for speaking of reuse and direction of dependence. At the same time, the presence of indicators of reuse and direction of dependence do not, in themselves, establish such reuse and direction of dependence. A case-by-case approach is thus needed even when we have some more general reflection of when it is valid to claim that a certain phenomenon is evidence for reuse and direction of dependence. This becomes an intermediate position between those arguing for strict criteria and those rejecting such criteria.

Kilchör, for his part, attempts to strike a balance between the two by rejecting overly strict criteria to determine reuse and direction of dependence, while at the same time providing substantial textual evidence for his conclusions. Whereas the evidence needs careful consideration by all, this approach also leaves open the possibility of other scholars weighing the evidence differently, given their intuitive take on the parallel. No doubt others will continue arguing against reuse between the legal portions of the Pentateuch or opposite directions of dependence than what Kilchör observes. One weakness is that Kilchör often bases his conclusions upon the parallels of common words and phrases. Seeing reuse and direction of dependence, then, tends to rest on the interpreter's ability to see thematic links (e.g., 78–79, 102, 163–164, 211, 221–222, 254, 265)—in my opinion, the weakest type of argument for establishing literary reuse.

Kilchör could have strengthened his argument by offering a more systematic discussion of whether the parallel lexemes and/or phrases could be seen as unique or distinct to the parallel passages, and whether we find a linguistic contrast showing that the author could easily have chosen another way of formulating his words—making the parallel cases more striking. It is Kilchör's accumulation of stronger cases, which shows that Deuteronomy reuses Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, as well as his ability to explain how weaker cases of reuse may have the same direction of dependence that adds to the overall strength of his argument. This is something Kilchör himself

explicitly states. Despite the room left for the interpreter's intuitive take on the parallels, I would nevertheless say that, given Ockham's razor, Kilchör makes a convincing case for the simplest explanation being that Deuteronomy reused Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers.

It is not a main point in *Mosetora und Jahwetora* to demonstrate the associative organization of Deut 12–26, according to the decalogic structure of Deut 5 (41, 69). However, following scholars like Braulik and Kaufman, he is able to demonstrate convincingly the heuristic role of reading Deut 12–26 along these lines for the study of legal reuse within the Pentateuch. Understanding Lev 19 as an expansionistic reading of the Decalogue in Exod 20, and a key to understanding the decalogic structure of Deut 12–26 (53–63) demonstrates how Lev 19 can be read as a basis for the decalogic structure of the instructions in Deut 12–26 rather than a reaction against it.

Kilchör's systematic and comprehensive approach to the question of legal reuse within the Pentateuch is much welcomed. Despite the methodological issues raised above, Kilchör is pointing Pentateuchal studies in new and refreshing directions. His argument for an overlap between the synchronic and diachronic reading is thought-provoking in an era during which the Documentary Hypothesis maintains a stronghold. While scholars of the Pentateuch repeatedly find camouflaged sociopolitical interests by later authors projected upon Israel's early history, Kilchör gives a credible account of how the legal sections of the Pentateuch, in their synchronic and diachronic sequence, is the most likely relative chronology for the origins of the texts.

In general, Kilchör's *Mosetora und Jahwetora* is the study of inner-biblical reuse at its best. Whether or not they agree with his conclusions, I am sure all interested in the field would benefit from a close reading of it. I would also highly recommend a publisher to make an English translation of the book available to a larger audience. It deserves this.

Grimo, Norway

KENNETH BERGLAND

King, Sarah Withrow. *Vegangelical: How Caring for Animals Can Shape Your Faith*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2016. 176 pp. Softcover. USD 16.99.

King's *Vegangelical* is a refreshing and an (unfortunately) exotic book, considering the larger context of publication programs under which traditional Christian publishing houses operate. As the title indicates, the book blends core evangelical beliefs about the Trinity, creation, salvation, and restoration with a vegan, animal-caring lifestyle. Relating these two worldviews is usually not the norm in Christian publications. After reading King's work, it is surprising how this seemingly obvious relationship has not been brought to the Christian readership before now. The clearly present biblical theme of animal care and human stewardship (as image bearers of God) should have been part of the tradition of earlier Christian publications.

The author holds a degree in political science and theology and worked for many years for People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) and other organizations that protect animal rights and advocate for the law

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The author holds a degree in political science and theology and worked for many years for People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) and other organizations that protect animal rights and advocate for the law

enforcement of animal protection. Thus, she is highly qualified to relate the doctrinal side of Christian beliefs to the practical side of Christian living.

Vegangelical is probably the best (and only?) recent book written within the context of evangelical Christianity that critically invites any Trinitarian Christian to seriously reconsider his or her attitude toward the animal world. The book is not a masterpiece of deep theological thinking and finesse. It is, however, a much-needed first attempt at translating our beliefs into sensitivity, and our sensitivity into actions of concrete, ethical, Christian living. It is high time for such a publication, since there are multitudes of secular books published on the vegan lifestyle as an ethical, ecological, and economic response to the crimes of modern animal industry, global warming, and world hunger. These also have been well received by the modern readership (see 18).

The book is divided into two major parts. The first part discusses some theological and evangelical core beliefs, while the second part discusses the different forms in which modern humanity finds itself interacting with animals (pets, hunting, zoos, animal-based medical research, food, and clothing). In contrast to the secular agenda that drives the popularity of the vegan lifestyle, King seeks to approach the topic from a dedicated Christian perspective. While the practical result might be the same—inspiring people to live an animal-friendly life—the motivation and worldview that stimulates such a life is baptized and driven by the Christian faith.

The first chapter works out an understanding of what it means to be an *imago Dei*. Discussing the social and ethical nature of the creator God, human responsibility, and image-bearing is central here, and sets forth the foundation of everything that follows. This, as well as all the other chapters within the first part of the book, present to the reader a finely selected collection of biblical core texts that substantiate King's theological reasoning. At the end of most chapters, the reader is engaged by a section with "Further Questions" and "Discussion Questions." Crucial questions that are often raised by Christians who critically look at a vegan lifestyle are found and discussed in an authentic, serious, and enlightening way (e.g., "Are we really called to be in community with animals?" 45). The second chapter clarifies the concept of biblical stewardship for the reader. Besides important biblical texts and theological argumentation, the book confronts the reader with statistics that demonstrate how the modern industrial life has destroyed animal life drastically (51–52). In this way, the author can contrast the biblical ideal of stewardship over creation with the human cruelty towards creation in modern times. Since the author is an expert and authority in matters of animal rights and law enforcement, each statistic is backed up with official and publicly available sources that are well documented in the endnotes. The final chapter of the first part investigates the idea of Christian love as not being limited only to that which is shared between fellow human beings.

The first three chapters do not provide deep exploration of matters of systematic or fundamental theology, but are written more in the style of a Bible study that reminds readers about basic concepts of faith and their relation to a Christian lifestyle. While her exegetical reflections might lack

scholarly rigor, she argues correctly, and she should be able to awaken the conscience of any serious Christ-seeking reader. Her point: our care for the animal world belongs to the foundational call of being an *imago Dei*.

In the last four chapters, making up the second part of the book, the author informs the reader as to what is systematically and morally wrong in the pet industry (ch. 4), the zoo/Sea World/circus/hunting industry (ch. 5), the animal testing industry (ch. 6), and the animal food industry (ch. 7). Her fifteen-year experience in the industry is quite apparent, as she takes these issues with journalistic precision.

King's writing style is personal, authentic, and nonjudgmental. At the same time, she realistically documents the standardized cruelty done to animals and provides many endnotes that reference pertinent laws, research, and journalistic work in the United States. The empathetic reader will find the described reality disgusting. Throughout the chapters, the author reflects on our society's behavior toward animals: What motivates us? Why have we organized our industries in the way that we have? etc. Her appeal in the final chapter is simple and straightforward: Let's broaden our understanding of the new kingdom that has come, let's broaden our understanding of human dominion. As we imitate Christ, let us live a life that "reduces suffering where we can" (155). King does not leave the reader without any practical tips; she illustrates how our diet can change, how our pet behavior can change, how our recreational life can change (instead of going to the zoo or going hunting), and how our clothing preference can become sanctified.

The "Discussion Questions," which are found at the end of each chapter, make this book ideal for book clubs and discussion groups. The book could also play a role in undergraduate religion programs or even MDiv courses that relate to ethics, theology, and life philosophy as part of a "required reading" bibliography.

In conclusion, *Vegangelical* is an important publication, as it not only awakens the Christian conscience, but supports it with concrete suggestions for change. What is needed after a publication like this is a thorough theological description of the ethical, ontological, and soteriological relationships that the biblical writers assume in their description of the man-animal relationship. This book could be the start of publication plans that take on this issue further.

Andrews University

OLIVER GLANZ

Leithart, Peter J. *The End of Protestantism: Pursuing Unity in a Fragmented Church*. Grand Rapids: Brazos, 2016. x + 225 pp. Hardcover. USD 21.99.

This is one of the most engaging and thought-provoking books on current religious trends in America I have read. Peter Leithart's *The End of Protestantism* follows remarkably in the footsteps of H. Richard Niebuhr's *Social Sources of Denominationalism* (1929) and offers a fresh reflection on many of the same themes and issues.

Leithart is the author of numerous books and currently serves as president of the Theopolis Institute for Biblical, Liturgical, and Cultural

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Leithart is the author of numerous books and currently serves as president of the Theopolis Institute for Biblical, Liturgical, and Cultural

Studies in Birmingham, Alabama. He also serves as adjunct Senior Fellow at New St. Andrews College, in Moscow, Idaho, a college of the Association of Reformed Colleges and Universities. In this bold and courageous book, Leithart “critiques American denominationalism in the context of global and historic Christianity, calls for an end to Protestant tribalism, and presents a vision for the future church that transcends post-Reformation divisions” (book jacket). If its basic premise is adopted by American Protestantism, the future of Christianity in the United States could be significantly different. In fact, this book outlines a way forward to what appears to be *The End of Protestantism* in America. The title of the book, however, is a *double entendre*—it is about the end (as in termination or conclusion) of what we know as American Protestantism, but it is also about the end (as in purpose) of what Protestantism was originally about, the Reformation of Catholic Christianity.

The first chapter, “An Interim Ecclesiology,” is a short introduction to the book and discusses Jesus’s prayer for unity among his future disciples in John 17. Leithart understands this prayer as paradigmatic for what American Protestant Evangelical Christianity must strive for. This prayer is, in fact, prophetic—if we believe the church will become what Jesus prayed for. But the reality is far different in American Christianity. Divisions among churches are real, and Leithart contends that American denominationalism is not God’s ideal for the church. He proposes a new way of thinking about the future, one that may fulfill what Jesus intended. His proposal is a new ecclesiology among American Protestant churches, a model he calls “Reformational Catholicism,” which he elaborates on more fully in the rest of the book. In the first section (chs. 2–4), Leithart lays out a biblical and Reformational vision of the church of the future and his understanding of evangelical unity. Chapter two is the biblical and theological foundation of his thought on church unity, in which the arguments are incisive and meant to create discomfort. The gospel of Jesus speaks of a visible, not only a spiritual, unity (cf. Eph 4:4–6). In fact, for Leithart, true unity is visible, and he categorically rejects any ecclesiology that treats unity as only spiritual or invisible. Since Christians anticipate that unity will be reached in the eschaton, he advocates living this unity now.

Chapter three expands Leithart’s vision with a proposal for the continued reformation of the church. He does not believe in an ecumenical vision of unity in which Christians are all reunited in a mother church, be it Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Anglican, or Lutheran. History matters, he argues. Yet, Christians must walk past current denominational divisions, beyond a mere continuation of any of today’s churches. The future church he envisions is one and catholic above all. Here he reappropriates the word catholic in its original sense of universal, and sees the early church of the New Testament period as the model to follow. There was only one early church without exclusive denominational names. All Christians were part of that one church, believed in the same gospel message, and were basically united in polity. This is Leithart’s vision of the Reformational Catholic church of the future.

Hence, if this vision of the church were to be fulfilled, we would see the end of denominationalism. Leithart understands the Protestant Reformation

of the sixteenth century to have had the reformation of the church as its purpose—not division into an endless number of denominations. It is a strong and committed impulse for the safeguard and purity of the Church that motivated Protestant Reformers. But “this catholic agenda for reformation was not realized. The Reformation did not reach its end” (48). Then why not strive to return to that vision and reestablish a visible communion among Christians who still seek the reformation of the church? Confessionalism and denominationalism destroyed that goal and have become the settled *status quo*. If Jesus’s prayer is to be fulfilled, then the end of Protestantism should be an unrelenting goal to imagine a Reformational Catholic church, unified, reformed by the word of God, a church in continuity with the original catholic vision of the Reformation (55).

The second section (chs. 5–7) focuses on denominational Christianity in the United States. While Leithart agrees that it has been used by God to extend his kingdom, it also suffers from fundamental flaws inhibiting the manifestation of the unity Jesus prayed for. There is certainly a case to be made for denominationalism (ch. 5), but it is far from manifesting the unity of the church. Denominationalism is a historical phenomenon particular to the United States where it thrived in a “free market” of religious options and competition for members. Protected by the first amendment on freedom of religion, the respect of free conscience, and the principle of a pluralistic society, American denominationalism thrived and has been resilient (69); it “made America a big tolerant tent, a sanctuary where people of every faith can live side by side more or less in peace” (71).

All this is good, but so that American churches do not become complacent and satisfied with their current reality, a case must be made against denominationalism (chs. 6 and 7). Leithart argues that denominationalism is “an *alternative* . . . to the one church that Jesus died to save” (71). “Denominationalism *institutionalizes* division” with its inherent sectarian bias (72) and, in the end, “sets up intractable barriers” to unity (88). Denominationalism has failed and will continue to fail to live Jesus’s prayer. It is also evident that American society and American denominationalism have mirrored each other in their social and political boundaries, and the cultural and social powerlessness of American denominationalism has been evident in many areas, particularly when it comes to race relations, its tacit support for segregation, and its persistent anti-Catholic sentiments (89).

What is the solution then? For Leithart, nothing less than the end of Protestantism and his study of God’s interventions in biblical history leads him to believe that such an end is in sight (ch. 8). He claims that repeatedly in the Bible “God forms a world; the world becomes corrupted, and God intervenes to tear it into pieces; then he forms a new world” (109). Evidence of this pattern includes the flood, the exodus from Egypt, the exile to Babylon, and the coming of Jesus and institution of the church. History is not a seamless garment and this biblical pattern can be applied to church history as well as the future of the church (114).

In the third section (chs. 9–11), Leithart builds on this biblical model of how God regularly tore down the world to reassemble it in new ways to argue “that God is remapping the global church and that the American denominational system is collapsing in the process” (6). This opens an opportunity for the creation of Reformational Catholicism among Protestant Christians. In chapters 9 and 10, he presents some examples of how global Christianity is currently being restructured and forces us to think about adopting “a way of being church that fits the new realities we face” (122). The surge of a global Pentecostalism in the twentieth century, the surprising growth of Christianity in Africa and Asia, and the changes made to Roman Catholicism since Vatican II open the door for new possibilities. White European and American forms of Christianity are being displaced by a new global map and new ethnic churches have also contributed to the “de-Europeanization” of American Christianity (145). These new forms of Christianity lead Leithart to say that American Protestantism now has a chance to look more like global Christianity and less like American tribalism (146).

Leithart predicts that American denominationalism in the twenty-first century will look very different (ch. 11). Non-denominational churches are flourishing. The boundaries between denominations have become porous and individual preferences, not the family or the clan, now determine what religion a person associates with, along with the growing subjectivism of religious beliefs and practices (157). At the same time, the number of those who belong to no denomination is rising rapidly. What is happening to American denominationalism is echoing what is happening to American society; the erosion of an American social consensus will erode American denominationalism as well.

In the last section (ch. 12), Leithart summarizes his vision for the church and offers some practical guidelines to those who want to see the realization of such an ecclesiology for the unity of all Christians (6). His model of a future American Christianity builds on a number of ecumenical models: federative, spiritual, and receptive ecumenism (166–168). His vision embraces the ecumenical concept that all Christian forms of faith have something to offer since God works in all groups. But his path to reunion for Protestants is *not* to become Catholic or Orthodox, as so many Evangelical Christians have done. His vision of this future Reformational Catholic church is not framed in a relativist doctrinal faith either, as “many of the traditional Protestant criticisms of Catholicism and Orthodoxy (of the papacy, of Marian doctrines, of icon veneration, of the cult of the saints) hold” (169).

Of course, it remains to be seen whether Leithart’s vision will be fulfilled, but there are many insightful reflections in his book to indicate that the American denominational system is in jeopardy. New realities in American society are undermining an ecclesiology that was sustained by what is now disappearing. Readers of this book from different denominations will respond differently to what Leithart offers and many will likely contest his negative evaluation of denominationalism. As a Seventh-day Adventist, I am deeply challenged by what he presents. The evidence is overwhelming that

the Seventh-day Adventist Church is as much an American denomination as other Protestant denominations in the United States and, therefore, if Leithart's analysis is accurate, could be in jeopardy as well. It arose in an era of Protestant growth in the nineteenth-century American frontier within a context of fierce competition between churches. It also fell prey to the color line with its lack of racial integration, if not blatant racism at times. Over time, it established a well-structured hierarchical organization that sustained its outreach and explosive numerical and institutional growth, but one in which uniformity of belief and practice was required. Some years ago, Malcolm Bull and Keith Lockhart provided a sociological and religious analysis of Adventism in *Seeking a Sanctuary: Seventh-day Adventism and the American Dream* (1989, 2006). This book complements Leithart's insights and gives them an Adventist perspective.

In the last two generations, cultural diversity and religious pluralism have had their impact on the Seventh-day Adventist Church. It is no longer predominantly of White European ancestry and its hierarchical authority structures are undermined by the impulse of American individualism. Vast numbers of its young adults drift away from local congregations soon after they graduate from the academy or college campuses it sponsors. While Adventism is much more attuned to global realities than other American denominations, all these factors echo Niebuhr's social sources of denominationalism and now Leithart's analysis. Adventism gives signs of having an entrenched denominational structure set on survival mode—something George R. Knight analyzed in his book *The Fat Lady and the Kingdom* (1995). To some extent, the future of the Seventh-day Adventist Church depends on what happens to American Protestantism. Since it is, in many ways, different from other denominations with its Sabbath-keeping culture, and has been so inimical to the ecumenical movement, will it be one of the few denominations to survive Leithart's end of Protestantism in America as we know it? If he is right in his prognostics, the end of denominationalism will affect the Seventh-day Adventist Church just as much as any other denominations. I don't think Adventist leaders are ready for this.

This is a book that all Adventist church leaders and religion teachers should read and discuss. It is a perplexing prophetic analysis of the current state of American denominationalism, as well as a call to a better future. Seventh-day Adventists should be able to relate to and hopefully be disturbed by Leithart's depiction of current denominationalism as Laodicean—an image that Adventists have used very often to point at shortcomings in other denominations. "Every Christian church is tempted to think it possesses all the resources to be healthy and faithful. Catholics, Orthodox, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Lutherans, Baptists—we all think that the church will be perfected when everyone else is enlightened enough to become like us. We are deluded. We are all Laodiceans, boasting of our health and wealth when we are poor, blind, wounded, and naked. No tradition has been spared the desolation of division. Every Christian tradition is distorted insofar as it lacks,

or refuses, the gifts that other traditions have. *Every* Christian tradition must be as ready to receive as to give” (167).

Andrews University

DENIS FORTIN

McArthur, Benjamin. *A. G. Daniells: Shaper of Twentieth-Century Adventism*. Adventist Pioneer Series. Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2015. 464 pp. Hardcover. USD 29.99.

Arthur Grosvenor Daniells (1858–1935) served the Seventh-day Adventist Church as president for twenty-one years (1901–1922), arguably its most influential president since James White. Add to such a subject a seasoned historical biographer, Benjamin McArthur of Southern Adventist University, and you have the makings of a great life story. McArthur’s experience as an associate editor of the magisterial twenty-four volume *American National Biography* gives evidence of his recognized expertise in historical biography (8).

This is the tenth volume in the Adventist Pioneer Series, of which George R. Knight is the series editor. The work includes a foreword by Knight, an introduction by McArthur, a table of abbreviations, extensive endnotes after each chapter, and an index of almost 1,000 entries.

McArthur makes a strong case for his thesis that “Daniells’s gift to the Adventist Church was his wedding of missionary passion to organizational genius” (88). In one of many historical parallels between Adventist history and that of the United States, he observes that “like General George Marshall, who during World War II had to surrender his desire to be field commander in Europe in order to coordinate the war effort from Washington, Daniells found that his essential tasks of coordination and oversight required similar sacrifices of him” (280). Although “Daniells was tethered to America because of his position as a denominational leader,” he saw himself “as ‘a recruiting officer’ for the world field” (271, cf. 270).

McArthur divides the story into twelve chapters. Chapter one traces Daniells’s beginnings to Iowa, USA, where, because of ill-health and a stammer, he was pointedly rejected as an applicant for ministry. He eventually found a mentor in R. M. Kilgore, who left Iowa for Texas and accepted Daniells as an evangelistic assistant.

Chapter two spans the fourteen momentous years during which Daniells rose from a young evangelist in New Zealand to president of the Australasian Union Conference. Chapters three to eleven examine, in depth, his twenty-one years as General Conference president. Chapter twelve sketches thirteen post-presidential years, during which he grew the General Conference Ministerial Association, founded *Ministry*, chaired the Board of Trustees of the Ellen G. White Estate, and authored two important books. The first of these, *Christ Our Righteousness* (1926), sought to call the church back to the “opportunity for spiritual transformation offered by the 1888 message” (422). *The Abiding Gift of Prophecy* (1936) sought “to illustrate how God had bestowed the prophetic gift through the ages, from patriarchal times through the Christian era, and culminating with the work of Ellen

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White” (441). The latter manuscript was completed under great time pressure during the closing five weeks of Daniells’s life, between a diagnosis of cancer in mid-February and his death on 22 March 1935 (449–450, 454n72).

I notice four major strengths of McArthur’s work. First, his writing is lively and colorful, a pleasure to read. See how aptly he characterizes the challenge Daniells faced in late 1901: “Not only a new century, but a new organizational form had been birthed the previous spring, one that needed Daniells’s attentive care if it was to step forward on spindly young legs” (139). McArthur excels at concise characterization, the ability to epitomize an era or a major event in a few words. In two sentences, he captures the essence of the conflict between Daniells and John Harvey Kellogg: It was “the most bitter leadership feud in Adventist Church history. Two antagonistic camps—ministerial and medical—were headed by two of the most strong-willed individuals the denomination has seen” (208).

A second strength is that clear, vivid writing is united with a strong commitment to historical objectivity. McArthur admires Daniells, but does not hesitate to identify his flaws when they are significant to the story. For instance, in the conflict with Kellogg, by 1904, Daniells had all but given up hope of reconciliation, because he “had lost confidence in Kellogg’s sincerity, finding him ‘devious, misleading, and confusing.’ Although Daniells continued to protest that there was nothing personal ‘between the Doctor and me,’ that posture was now hard to credit. Too much roiling water had gone under the bridge” (201).

Another example of historical objectivity might surprise some readers, given Daniells’s lifelong history of staunch support for Ellen G. White. More than thirty years later, in *The Abiding Gift of Prophecy*, Daniells recounted “with vividness and passion” his side of the conflict with Kellogg, as an example of God’s leading through the gift of prophecy. What Daniells left out of the published account was a “crisis of faith” during which he nearly succumbed to Kellogg’s philosophical attack. In 1904, Daniells confided to W. C. White that during those years, “I was once on the very verge of ruin,” had not “God in His great mercy” delivered him from “the insinuations of doubt that man had sowed in my mind” (207–208). The historian’s summation: “It was a remarkable moment of confession from the emotionally self-controlled and unswervingly orthodox Daniells. Which of Kellogg’s many words tempted him? Pantheism? Doubtful. More likely it had to do with Ellen White’s inspiration and authority. Fifteen years later [1919] he faced accusations of insufficient confidence in the Spirit of Prophecy. This would explain why in his latest recollection [1935] of this episode he could not admit to any vacillation on her inspiration. His legacy, as well as Ellen White’s, was at stake” (208).

A third strength is multi-faceted contextualization. McArthur’s academic specialty is nineteenth- and early twentieth-century American history and culture—precisely the milieu of Daniells’s life and of the formative years of Adventism—and he excels at placing complex ideas and events in the overlapping contexts of American history and culture, world history, and church history. For example, McArthur suggests that the 1901 General

Conference session “offers a nearly perfect case study of the larger trends toward rationalized bureaucratization occurring in American society.” Daniells’s advice that multiplying “organizations and boards and institutions . . . does not necessarily or naturally increase the efficiency of our management,” shows that “the ‘Progressive Era’ (as the early twentieth century is often called) is as appropriate a term for Adventist history as for anything happening in American government or business” (105).

Similar examples of historical contextualization occur with refreshing frequency. After listing the well-known points of conflict between Daniells and Kellogg, the author observes that “underlying all these conflicts was a social cleavage that stole unawares over the church. Adventism had from its beginnings been a movement of modest farmers and tradesmen. Literate, certainly, even given to deep study of Scripture; but not learned (with the occasional exception of a J. N. Andrews or the Dartmouth-educated Prescott). . . . Kellogg and his Adventist medical brethren represented a new professional class in the church” (185).

Again, in the debates of the 1903 General Conference session, McArthur detects reflections of American national politics of the time. “The call for control by ‘the people’ reflected a central theme of the Populist Movement in the 1890s.” Kellogg accused his opponents of “communism”—a term that in 1903 was “a typical smear against any perceived radicalism” (198, cf. 194). However, McArthur’s sensitivity to the political and economic context of Adventist history is not limited to North America. Accounting for Daniells’s evangelistic success in his early years in New Zealand, the historian draws multiple clues from the social, cultural, and economic context there (42–44).

A later example of historical context highlights Daniells’s editorial in the beginning issue of *Ministry* magazine (January 1928). Daniells declared that “a steady, growing efficiency in our ministry has been the constant aim of the [Ministerial] Association during the five years of its existence.” The historian provides the background: this focus on “efficiency as a prime measure of pastoral work was a peculiar, though not surprising, reflection of an age that elevated business values. Efficiency experts sought to help industries become as productive as possible.” Challenging ministers to excel in both spirituality and productivity, Daniells wrote: “It [efficiency] stands for the power to produce maximum results with minimum effort or cost. It aims at the elimination of waste or loss in labor, time, and money, in obtaining intended results.” McArthur notes, “This sentiment could have come straight from the pen of the father of the efficiency movement, Frederick Winslow Taylor. Ministers, implicitly, were put on notice that they might be evaluated on the basis of their success in soul winning” (421–422).

A fourth strength of this biography is penetrating, insightful interpretation. Uniting the skills of a historian to the perspective of a denominational insider enables McArthur to more fully illuminate the implications of the events he reports. During the night before the famous “washroom confrontation” with Kellogg in 1902, Daniells reported that “a voice seemed to be speaking to my conscience telling me that I must not surrender to wrong principles, and

thus bring serious troubles to the cause of God.” In his perplexity he “cried [to God] for understanding.” On awakening, “the warning voice still sounded. But before reaching London, I received light.” The light was that he must maintain the no-debt policy, which would mean resisting Kellogg. McArthur observes that “this quasi-revelation . . . may strike some as presumptuous—or at least odd in an age when Adventism had a designated prophet. But it was not so unusual.” By placing this experience in the context of other Adventists and Christians in general who “spoke of dreams, apprehensions, or impressions,” McArthur clarifies an incident that might otherwise remain quite opaque to some twenty-first-century readers (187). He also clearly distinguishes such private guidance from the prophetic messages that Ellen White received for the whole church or its leaders.

Another interesting example of historian-plus-insider interpretation concerns the April 1903 meeting of the International Medical Missionary and Benevolent Association that took place in Battle Creek just after the General Conference session in Oakland. The meeting focused on reconciliation, and at its close, Kellogg and Daniells made a joint public pronouncement that their differences had been resolved. The historian observes that “Adventist leadership suffered from a naïve view of conflict resolution. Bring the contending parties together; read a testimony; pray; profess a changed heart; the formula was standard. But the underlying differences persisted, and the truces would be short-lived. In this case, the April *rapprochement* lasted but a few months before the animosities resumed” (198–199).

Such analysis and interpretation occasionally leads to speculation about the future. Accounting for the fact that the 1901 reorganization has succeeded for more than a century, McArthur explains: “Its resilience and utility lay in the fine balance its creators achieved between centralized and dispersed administrative authority.” The author expects, however, that “new efficiencies created by advances in transportation and communication—and unceasing pressures on budgets—will likely lead to overhaul of the 1901 system in the near future” (105).

These four qualities—vivid, concise writing; a commitment to historical objectivity; multi-faceted contextualization; and penetrating interpretation—make this a book worth investing in for both reading pleasure and scholarly reference.

In 450 pages of text, I rarely detected typographical errors, but one is misleading. Regarding the 1901 Iowa camp meeting, Daniells reported that the Lord “set the seal of *His* approval upon it” [not “the seal of *disapproval*”] (122).

In sum, the book is a fascinating read with profound insights. I highly recommend it to all who desire an in-depth historical understanding of the history and polity of present-day Adventism.

Popko, Łukasz. *Marriage Metaphor and Feminine Imagery in Jer 2:1–4:2: A Diachronic Study Based on the MT and LXX*. *EBib* 2/70. Leuven: Peeters, 2015. 655 pp. Softcover. EUR 98.00.

Any scholar who is seriously involved in the study of the book of Jeremiah should consult Popko's work for four main reasons. First, his book excellently summarizes the history of diachronic studies and the current state of scholarship with regard to the redaction history of the book of Jeremiah. Second, Popko's work investigates one of the dominant themes developed in the first third of the book of Jeremiah: the gender relations in their different social forms between YHWH as a man and Judah as a woman (father-daughter; husband-wife). Third, the publication investigates how the Greek Text (GT) and the Masoretic Text (MT) relate to each other based on theme development, argumentation, and general text-genesis. Fourth, Popko's work tries to limit hypothetical a priori to a minimum, while using linguistic, literary, and contextual (ANE literature) data in order to direct his reasoning and conclusions. Herein, Popko delivers fresh insights into the textual meaning and the hermeneutic processes for the present scholarly debate about the book of Jeremiah.

The main aim of this work is twofold. On the one hand, it seeks to investigate the meaning of the different feminine imagery utilized for describing Judah (daughter, wife, prostitute). On the other hand, it investigates the hermeneutical dynamics that must have led to the different handling of feminine imagery in the GT and the MT in Jer 2:1–4:2. Both aims serve each other. Utilizing the framework of creation-Yahwism vs. history-Yahwism (16–17) developed by Francolino Gonçalves, Popko seeks to approach the debate about the primacy of GT and MT with a new tool: marriage metaphor. If a text tradition utilizes the marriage metaphor more emphatically, a typical phenomenon of the later history-Yahwism, it's a strong hint of it being a later development in the redaction history of the book of Jeremiah.

With 655 pages, Popko's publication is massive and divides itself into seven chapters. In the introduction (15–68), two different forms of Yahwism (the older creation-Yahwism and the younger history-Yahwism) are introduced. The methodological utilization of these concepts for diachronic studies is suggested. To clarify the potentiality of the study of marriage metaphors as a typical phenomenon of history-Yahwism, Popko summarizes the history of diachronic studies and shows the circular reasoning often encountered in classical historic critical works of the past. Therefore, a differential exegesis, in which both GT as well as MT are studied as equally important text traditions, is suggested. The exegesis focuses on the utilized female imagery and compares the differences of GT and MT. This differential exegesis then leads to the next, and longest, chapter (69–270). In a detailed way, all verses that contain female imagery are studied and the differences between GT and MT are worked out. Not only are the BHS and the critical Göttinger Septuagint consulted, but Popko also brings into the discussion the Peshitta, Targum, and Vulgate in order to explore whether the Hebrew or the Greek text tradition was followed in other ancient translations.

After the exegetical insights and the text-differences have been collected, the next two chapters are dedicated to studies of female imagery in MT (271–322) and GT (323–352). Each of these chapters attempts to clarify how the female imagery is utilized in each text-tradition. The fifth chapter (353–428) is designed to bring the redaction critical perspective to the study of Jer 2:1–4:2 and propose layers of redactional work in a suggested chronological order. Popko arrives at his redaction-critical conclusion based on the assumption that the marriage imagery belongs to history-Yahwism that was developed in the later stages of the prophetic tradition. This assumption is further supported by the assumption that the longer MT edition of Jeremiah is regarded as a later development of the older GT *Vorlage*. Bringing these two assumptions together helps to explain why the marriage metaphor is present through most of MT's version of Jer 2:1–4:2, while it is, for the most part, absent in the GT (cf. 358).

After proposing different redactional layers in their chronological order, the sixth chapter (429–552) focuses on all feminine metaphors in Jer 2:1–4:2 by answering specific questions: What type of woman is described? What type of relationship can be detected between the woman and YHWH? What makes a feminine metaphor a marriage metaphor? etc. Compared to the previous chapters, this chapter goes much deeper into the matter of the social and theological functions of the different female metaphors. The chapter also engages with ANE literature, comparative studies, and inner biblical contextual studies, allowing for a nuanced and comprehensive understanding. Whether one finds Popko's conclusion about the redaction history convincing or not, this chapter has value in and of itself, as it informs any methodological approach to Jeremiah, providing important insights. The author addresses all these important questions in different subsections (e.g., "What does precisely the woman's 'youth' mean?", "How is inheritance ensured for a daughter?", etc.). In the last chapter, the author concludes his findings and summarizes his arguments about (a) the primacy of the shorter GT tradition over the longer MT tradition, (b) the rationale for the editorial move from feminine metaphors (GT) to dedicated marriage metaphors (MT), and (c) the importance of differential exegesis.

The author has put a lot of effort into his research. There is no doubt that he has broad knowledge and an excellent set of skills for collecting and analyzing all necessary materials. Independent of one's own methodological approach to the book of Jeremiah, Popko's work is important and will enrich the present research on the book of Jeremiah. Especially helpful are the second chapter containing the differential exegesis of Jer 2:1–4:2 and the sixth chapter in which the different feminine metaphors are explored. These are excellent chapters as they can function as a reference guide.

There are, however, some questions as to the author's lines of argumentation and analysis. As it is crucial for his conclusion to see a major difference between GT and MT (and their respective *Vorlagen*), one must sometimes wonder whether the conclusion is somewhat forced. At the end of the second chapter, the author argues that, in contrast to the short version (GT), the long version (MT) is more positive towards the fate of the pagan nations (265).

Jeremiah 2:19 and 3:17 are used as examples. However, in Jer 2:19, neither the MT nor the GT speak about the foreign nations and, in 3:17, both texts foretell the gathering of the nations at the “Lord’s Throne.” While there are smaller differences between the shorter and longer versions, they do not express a different attitude towards the nations. Also, when the author stresses that, in Jer 2:14, the GT refers to Israel in masculine terms (δοῦλός), it would have been helpful to also stress that the MT refers to Israel with three different masculine terms (דָּבָרָה, אִיָּהּ, הָיָהּ). Thus, both texts refer to the same participant with the language of female prostitution and masculine nouns/verbs/pronouns.

Throughout the author’s work, the different rendering of Jer 2:2 in MT and GT functions as a core argument for the absence of the marriage metaphor in the GT (the author claims that the GT has the marriage metaphor only in Jer 3:6–11). While the MT utilizes the marriage metaphor in Jer 2:2, the GT is claimed to refer to a daughter rather than a wife. Several observations and arguments lead to this conclusion. While the author’s reading makes sense, other readings that attempt to see the marriage metaphor in the GT’s version of Jer 2:2 cannot be as radically excluded as desired. The author argues that the narrower meaning of the Greek ἐλέους for דָּבָרָה shows that the GT no longer allows for the idea of the people (as wife) being in a loving-kindness relationship with YHWH (as husband). According to the author, ἐλέος can only mean “pity,” “compassion,” and “mercy” and excludes “loving-kindness” (one of the potential meanings of דָּבָרָה), so the GT can only speak of YHWH’s compassion for his daughter (and not the wife’s love for YHWH). However, the vast majority of דָּבָרָה occurrences are translated by the Greek root ἔλεο, including those cases where the Hebrew entertains the meaning of loving-kindness (e.g., Ruth 1:8, 3:10). That the root ἔλεο- can include the meaning of love in OT and NT is also indicated by BDAG (316). The author does mention that Aquila’s version translates “love of your espousals” (309). This fact, however, raises the question of where and how Aquila related to the *Vorlage* of the GT (did he get this idea from a MT *Vorlage*?). However, this question is neither asked, nor is an attempt made to answer it. As a final example, one could bring to the reader’s attention how Popko uses Philo’s quotation of Jer 3:4 (348–349). Philo renders Jer 3:4 differently (πατέρα καὶ ἄνδρα τῆς παρθενίας σου/“father and husband/man of your virginity”) than the GT (πατέρα καὶ ἀρχηγὸν τῆς παρθενίας σου/“father and governor of your virginity [200]). The author explains that Philo must have “decided to modify the quoted text of Jer^{LXX}” to make it fit his specific philosophy. While this is a possibility, one could also assume that Philo could do so because parts of the community understood the image of the marriage from their reading of the GT (even before Jer 3:6–11).

While it is possible to receive Popko’s work as a coherent argument for his specific claims, one could also align the data he has presented in a way that still supports Fischer’s argument for the primacy of the MT over the GT. Ultimately, however, Popko’s work will play an essential role for further diachronic research and the study of the interplay of different female metaphors in the book of Jeremiah. The scholarly community will benefit from this publication

through its clear data explication, and the reader will be inspired to reevaluate his or her own position with regard to the relationship between GT and MT.

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OLIVER GLANZ

Ross, Allen P. *A Commentary on the Psalms: 90–150*. Kregel Exegetical Library. Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2016. 1024 pp. Hardcover. USD 32.48.

Compared to their undermined standing in biblical scholarship a century ago, the Psalms have finally taken their rightful place in the mainstream of biblical studies. The increased interest in the history, poetry, and message of the Psalms has produced numerous books and commentaries on the Psalms in recent years. This book is the last of the three-volume commentary on the Psalms by Allen P. Ross in the Kregel Exegetical Library series. The book completes the author's splendid contribution of almost three thousand pages dedicated to the study of the Psalms. Yet, Ross frankly admits that "no work on the Psalter can be said to be complete" (11). This commentary is written for those who may not have expertise in biblical languages and scholarship (*ibid.*). The author does not discuss certain subjects in detail and sometimes avoids them altogether (for example, form-critical questions and historical-critical questions). Nevertheless, when it is indispensable, Ross surveys the works of some critical scholars or addresses differing scholarly views, such as introducing Mowinckel's cultic interpretations (79–81), or the dates when certain psalms and psalm superscriptions were written.

A commendable feature of this book is the author's personal translation of the Psalms, which is supported by elaborate explanations in the footnotes. Ross attempts to preserve and highlight the dynamic nature of Hebrew poetry, rather than to wrap it with more theologically accurate language. For example, he renders Ps 90:2b as "or you gave birth to the earth and the world." Most people would agree that it is unusual to say that God gave birth to the world, but the special appeal of poetry lies in its freedom of expression. Ross does not want to undermine the fact that "in poetry it is not impossible to use such language to describe God as the source of all life" (29). Ross engages both the Hebrew Masoretic Text and the Septuagint in the study of various textual variations and emendations (textual criticism). He often discusses alternate translations (early translations like Syriac and Latin, and modern translations), and the differences between the Hebrew Masoretic Text and the Septuagint. The book thus makes use of scholarly work to enhance biblical exposition of the message of the Psalms. Ross approaches them as Scripture rather than merely ancient poetic texts. He does not speak much about them; instead, he seeks to elucidate the message of the Psalms and let them speak for themselves. Many readers will praise this approach. A three-page index of Hebrew word studies and a forty-one-page selected bibliography are given at the end of the book to provide helpful and practical resources for anyone studying the Psalms.

Since Ross's method is expository, the study of each psalm follows these steps: First, the introduction; second the commentary in expository form (the main part of the study of the psalm); and third, the message and

through its clear data explication, and the reader will be inspired to reevaluate his or her own position with regard to the relationship between GT and MT.

Andrews University

OLIVER GLANZ

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Since Ross's method is expository, the study of each psalm follows these steps: First, the introduction; second the commentary in expository form (the main part of the study of the psalm); and third, the message and

application. The introduction to each psalm begins with the author's own English translation, is clarified with extensive notes on textual variations and lexical issues, and followed up by a discussion about the composition and context of the psalm. It concludes with an exegetical analysis that consists of a short summary and a detailed outline of the psalm. The Commentary, in expository form, follows the outline of the psalm given in the section about exegetical analysis. The exposition of each psalm focuses on the study of key Hebrew words and phrases in the light of the psalm's context and of other biblical texts, delineating the message of the psalm in its historical context and highlighting the theological message of the psalm. This model of study is both simple and gratifying so that many readers can adopt it for their reading of other biblical texts. In the last section, the author discusses the message and application of the text, demonstrating his pastoral side by seeking to draw practical lessons for his readers.

This commentary is written from a conservative perspective. Ross thus takes the psalm superscriptions seriously in his survey of the Psalms. Perhaps the most obvious instance is Ps 90. This psalm is believed by many to be post-exilic, and so the psalm superscription that ascribes the psalm to Moses is taken to imply that the psalm is written in the style of Moses or that the state of Israel in exile is evocative of the past hardships of Israel in the wilderness. Ross finds these and similar explanations "unnecessarily contrived" (27). Instead, he views the psalm as one that was written originally by Moses and has found use in later periods of Israel's history. Ross's survey of the Messianic psalms is profound. Usually, some commentators will treat the Messianic aspects of Psalms 110 and 118 as an addendum or mention them briefly in the comments about the New Testament use of the Psalms in the conclusion. Ross, on the other hand, identifies the Messianic connotations of the Psalms as their valid and intended meaning in the main section of his commentary. He demonstrates how certain Psalms "point to the resurrection and the beginning of the new covenant" in Jesus Christ (454, also 354). While some Psalms, such as Ps 104, display some features that are similar to certain ANE texts, Ross argues that there is insufficient evidence to prove direct borrowing. Ross seeks to demonstrate that these Psalms reflect Israel's theology of creation that was unique to the ancient world (245).

The author's special contribution is his 136-page study of Ps 119, which is probably the lengthiest survey of Ps 119 to be found in the commentaries on the Psalms thus far. Ross treats each stanza of Ps 119 separately, evaluating them, as before, by including an introduction with an English translation and exegetical analysis, the commentary in expository form, and the message and application of the stanza. This approach is both effective and practical, because it allows readers to "use one stanza for a lesson or a sermon in its own rights" (463). However, a potential downside of this approach is a tendency to treat Ps 119 as twenty-two separate psalms, overlooking or underestimating the psalm's unified message.

There is not much to say in terms of critique of this profound commentary. The book could be enriched by a study of possible literary, historical, and

theological connections between the Psalms in the present Psalter. Each psalm is analyzed in its own merits, and little effort is made to see the message of a particular psalm in the light of other Psalms and of the whole Psalter. The author often refers to earlier commentaries, such as those by Dahood, Delitzsch, and Kirkpatrick, but in a book of this magnitude some readers will expect to see more engaging surveys of the works by other renowned psalm scholars, like Mays and Brueggemann. It would also be helpful to include dialogue with the perspectives of later writers, such as deClaisse-Walford and Jacobson, and of more recent trends in psalmic studies, including linguistic approaches and canonical criticism. Transliteration of Hebrew and Greek words with English letters would make this book more reader-friendly, particularly for readers who have no knowledge of biblical languages. After all, they are mentioned as the author's primary audience. The index of Hebrew word studies at the end of the book present a challenge for people who do not read Hebrew. In addition, a glossary would be a helpful feature for a book written with pastors and students in mind, since it is almost impossible to avoid using technical terms in the book (for example, *hithpalpel*, [479]; preterite with *waw* consecutive, [601]; asseverative particle, [703]). Some psalm outlines seem to be overly detailed, making it quite difficult to grasp the overall structure of these psalms (e.g., 27–28, 97–98, 212–213, 246–247).

The above minor critique is, by far, surpassed by the praise that this book should receive. Perhaps the most appealing feature of this book is the mastery with which the author combines scholarly, linguistic, historical, theological, and devotional insights. Pastors will find this book to be an excellent homiletical resource. Readers will be immensely enriched by its theological and spiritual depth. This book is thus highly recommended to pastors, teachers, students, and readers with a genuine love for the Psalms.

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DRAGOSLAVA SANTRAC

Sampley, J. Paul. *Walking in Love: Moral Progress and Spiritual Growth with the Apostle Paul*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2016. 444 pp. Hardcover. USD 79.00.

Paul Sampley's book, *Walking in Love*, is written not for the scholarly guild, but for inquiring persons who are interested in the Christian walk. Focusing upon the seven undisputed letters of the Pauline literature—Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, 1 Thessalonians, and Philemon—Sampley wants “to understand, on the basis of the evidence from his letters, how Paul thought believers should discern and do the will of God and walk in love with God, with Christ, and with one another” (xi).

Chapter one, “After His Call, Paul Sets Out,” lays the groundwork for Sampley's study with some basics: God called Paul to be the apostle to the Gentiles to proclaim a message of “Christ and him crucified” throughout the large cities of the Mediterranean world. The apostle's missionary activity created predominately Gentile assemblies which gathered in house churches; the organizational structure of these house churches was fairly open-ended,

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with leadership emerging from within the local church. Paul and his co-workers modeled this life of faith by actively seeking to express love, care, comfort, and encouragement to others.

Chapter two, “The Big Story: What in the World is God Doing?” sketches the story of redemption which undergirds Paul’s letters, from “the creation of the world to the end-time beyond the return of Christ, beyond the expected resurrection of all who have died in the Lord, beyond the defeat of all rival powers, to Christ’s ultimate turning over the kingdom/reign to God” (26). Paul’s apocalyptic worldview is shaped by a timeframe that begins with Jesus’s death and resurrection and concludes with his return at the end times. This interim time period is characterized by the coexistence of the old and new ages, with believers living the new creation life in a tension-filled, sin-ridden world.

Chapter three, “New Creation Beings: Responsive and Responsible,” explores the anthropological dimensions of Paul’s letters (mind, heart, body, spirit, and soul) with a view of ascertaining the believer’s ability to do moral reasoning in light of the challenges of living within the sin-ridden world. In the believers’ past life, “sin had gained . . . a beachhead” (52), making their hearts insensate and their minds worthless. Delivered from the debilitating effects of sin, believers have refurbished minds, with Spirit-enabled capacities to avoid being conformed to this age, and increasing abilities to discern the good, pleasing, and perfect will of God (Rom 12:2).

In chapter four, “Believers’ Progress: From Babies to Adults,” Sampley describes how new creation beings make moral progress through discipline and self-examination, “to become more like Christ and to give ever wider expression in every aspect of their lives to the fruit that the Spirit enables and inspires in all believers” (94). At the same time, Paul believes it is possible for the believer to inappropriately use his God-given freedom to regress, run in vain, fall in battle, lose one’s faith, and cause a fellow believer to fall (127).

Chapter five, “Baptism: Starting Well and Ending Better,” explicates the nature of baptism. Baptism is the believers’ “rite of entry into the life of faith” (133). In the ritual act of baptism, believers take off one garment and put on another, symbolizing their putting off of the old self and “putting on Christ.” Meanwhile, the community makes a declaration of “oneness” (Gal 3:28), symbolizing their new identity in Christ, one that eradicates distinctions regarding ethnicity (Jew and Greek), social standing (slave and free), and gender (male and female). Baptism frames the believers’ entire faithful life, from its new life in Christ until its completion at the last day.

Chapter six, “Lord’s Supper: How to Eat, Drink, and Live Well,” details Paul’s assessment of the Lord’s Supper in the life of faith (1 Cor 11:17–34). In response to the Corinthians’ desecration of the Lord’s Supper through their factions and divisiveness, Paul rehearses the Jesus traditions of the last supper with the disciples. Believers celebrate the Lord’s Supper in order to be reminded of where they have come from—their shared death with Christ—and of what awaits them at the end times—Christ’s return. Paul applies the meal’s ethical implications by telling the Corinthians they must

engage in a “double-sided examination” in which they reflect on how they are related to Christ and to the members of the body of Christ.

Chapter seven, “Judgment: God’s of Us, Ours of Each Other, and of Ourselves,” expounds the judgment motif in the Pauline corpus. There will be an end-time judgment in which God will hold all believers accountable on the basis of their works/deeds. Within the church, there is an appropriate kind of admonishment which believers owe one another; such instruction is undertaken with “the hope that believers may help one another grow and progress in the life of faith and in their loving of one another” (228). Nonetheless, the most powerful and appropriate kind of admonishment occurs when believers accurately self-test and discern the body of Christ, bringing themselves “more in line with God’s purposes in and through” (232) them.

Chapter eight, “Us and Them: Relations and Contact with the Outside World,” examines how Pauline communities lived the new creation life alongside nonbelieving neighbors. The communities did not attract attention from outsiders, given the small size of house churches, and Paul’s advice for believers was to keep a low profile and “remain as you were.” Interactions between believers and non-believers can be seen in Paul’s council on marriage/divorce, the unbelievers’ attendance of worship services, and dinners with unbelieving neighbors. Christian communities must exercise care in not being contaminated by the sinfulness of this age and, at the same time, demonstrate love toward unbelievers, since they are potential converts.

Chapter nine, “Making Choices Right and Sitting Loose in the Saddle,” summarizes the core basics of Paul’s moral reasoning. The entire deliberation process is like a video comprised of certain constituent frames, considerations, and questions: (a) a vice-list fence that provides believers with the moral space of appropriate conduct and a border which demarcates inappropriate conduct; (b) what is your measure of faith and what do you know?; (c) are you fully convinced/persuaded?; (d) do you have any doubts/waverings?; (e) are you under compulsion to do the deed in question or to act in a particular fashion?; (f) will your action harm or cause a brother or sister in the faith to stumble or fall?

Chapter ten, “Epilogue: Paul for the Twenty-First Century,” considers the contemporary relevance of Paul’s thought—his suppositions and convictions. On the basis of “*other Pauline values and convictions*” (312), Sampley qualifies a number of Pauline motifs (e.g., submission to governing authorities, civil courts, and lawsuits) and posits the relevance of a few others (e.g., Paul’s vision of the believer’s spiritual life as one of growth).

Sampley’s depiction of Paul’s teaching on spiritual growth, however, raises a number of important questions. First, *there is the question of ascertaining the interplay between the moral reasoning of the individual believer and the ethical deliberations/responsibilities of the community of believers*. Sampley argues that the Christian walk is a communal endeavor, where “we believers belong to one another” (374). Paul values equally the individual and community with neither dominating the other: “Neither the communal nature of the life of faith nor the individual (and collective) moral growth and progress can be left out or diminished or the total shape of Paul’s vision is distorted” (376).

Nonetheless, as one reads through Sampley's analysis of Paul's moral reasoning, one is left with the impression that the emphasis falls upon the individual, particularly when he maintains that the "moral clearing house . . . is individuated and located in the heart and mind of each individual believer" (280–281). Interpreters are left with the challenge of balancing and weighing such a perspective against the communal dimensions of the letters, particularly those passages that suggest Paul's primary pastoral vision is for the transformation of Christian communities (e.g., Rom 15:15–17; 2 Cor 1:12–14; 11:1–3; Phil 2:16–18; 1 Thess 2:19–20). Sampley's analysis highlights the importance of ascertaining Paul's vision concerning the role of the individual, and of the community, in ethical decision-making regarding moral progress.

Second, *there is the question of giving due credence to the situational character of Paul's letters*. While recognizing that none of the letters provide us with a "quasi-systematic layout of his beliefs and practices" (xiii), Sampley argues, on the basis of 1 Cor 4:17—"to remind you of my ways in Christ, as I teach them in every church,"—that it is possible to delineate the apostle's teaching on spiritual growth. Interpreters are left with another challenge of determining whether Sampley's sketch of Paul's moral teaching across the undisputed letters is an "abstraction" or common threads that weave together into a "fabric" that one could call "walking in love." Nonetheless, it is quite possible that such an outline of Paul's teaching was not comprehensively and consistently applied to the Pauline communities, particularly given Paul's pronounced stress on his practice of accommodation, adaptation, and flexibility in proclaiming the gospel (1 Cor 9:19–23), as well as the evidence from the letters themselves, which reveal the apostle's robust contextualization of the gospel. Might not the nature of Paul's moral reasoning be varied, with its application uniquely predicated on the contingencies of the socio-historical setting of a particular congregation? All who desire to delineate renderings of Paul's thought from his letters, even in limited fashion, face the daunting task of the occasional/situational dimension of the letters.

Third, *there is the question regarding the nature of Paul's moral reasoning established solely on the undisputed letters*. Several important factors need to be considered in order to determine the authentic letters of Paul: the possibility of development of thought on the part of Paul; the "consistency of expression" criteria one ought to apply to an ancient corpus of writings; the degree of influence the secretary played in the composition of the letters; and the possibility Paul commissioned and supervised the production of a number of the letters. A renewed evaluation of the foregoing factors is leading some NT scholars to re-examine the issues of authenticity. Thus, a chapter outlining the nature of Paul's moral reasoning on the basis of all thirteen letters would have helped readers who believe the apostle wrote these canonical writings or those readers who are unconcerned about matters of authorship and simply wish to study Paul on the basis of the canon. What adjustments would Sampley make in his description of "Paul's ways" if he incorporated into his analysis, say, the realized eschatology of Colossians and Ephesians—their change of

temporal categories into spatial categories (326)? Or the “routinization of charisma”—the institutionalization features of the Pastorals?

The foregoing questions Sampley’s book raises for readers should not be viewed as shortcomings, but illustrative of the book’s potential benefit for all who desire to understand Paul’s moral reasoning. The book is focused upon the Pauline corpus and not inclined to interpret Paul through a particular perspective (e.g., Lutheran, Catholic, Jewish, New Perspective, post-New Perspective, etc.). It is clearly written and reflects Sampley’s appreciation and lifelong study of the apostle Paul. It thoroughly engages the “heart of Paul’s purposes in all his letters” (xii) and will doubtless be “an elixir or potion for anyone who is interested in making spiritual and moral progress in their lives” (x).

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LEO RANZOLIN

Sessoms, Rick, with Tim Brannagan. *Leading with Story: Cultivating Christ-centered Leaders in a Storycentric Generation*. Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2016. xxiv + 246 pp. Softcover. USD 14.39.

Rick Sessoms appears to be a widely-travelled author with an impressive website (www.freedomtolead.net). The subtitle of the book is *Cultivating Christ-Centered Leaders in a Storycentric Generation*. The book addresses the needs of leadership development in oral or, as he puts it, “storycentric” cultures. The reality is that this pertains to the majority of the world, increasingly so in the West, where more and more people are screen-oriented rather than book-oriented. The objective of his organization, Freedom to Lead, is to “bridge the gap between character formation and ministry development” (214).

It is not a simple task to impress such a literate audience as the readers of this journal with the realities of the majority-world, where learning is accomplished through story, poetry, art, and song rather than by reading books and articles. The reality is that a significant number of students in the Seminary where I taught come from storycentric cultures, where they are accustomed to learning in a very different format than formal classes with lectures. Another striking reality is that we are training pastors and leaders to work in an increasingly storycentric world, even in the West, Europe, and North America. Such is the new migratory world in which we now live.

The importance of this may be seen in the recent national elections in the United States. Traditionally, politics were (assumed to be) rational and information-fed. We now are adjusting to a political scene that appeals far more to the emotions, fears, and feelings. People vote how they “feel” more than what they “read,” in spite of the irrationality. For Christians, this may suggest why the charismatics and Pentecostal churches are so rapidly expanding, while the more staid, formal religious bodies shrink.

The Bible was first given to a storycentric people. Much of it is in story form. Notice the importance given to songs, of Moses, of Miriam, of Deborah, the Psalms, the song of the vineyard in Isaiah. The teachings of Jesus largely took the form of stories. The fact that we call them “parables” does not make

BOOK REVIEWS

Annan, Kent. *Slow Kingdom Coming: Practices for Doing Justice, Loving Mercy and Walking Humbly in the World*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2016. 149 pp. Softcover. USD 14.40.

Over the years I have donated funds, spent time and energy marching in demonstrations, been personally involved in inner-city ministries, and served the poor as a senior advisor for the Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA). I have spent time in the worst slums this world knows. This is a book that I could have used many years ago.

Kent Annan's book is, at the same time, troubling, helpful, and liberating. Troubling, as it reminds us of how difficult and demanding our involvement in social justice can be, but liberating as he leads his reader through five helpful practices he has discovered. These helpful practices do not speed up the kingdom, but they make the process understandable, realistic, and more satisfying. Annan reminds us that the best change is generally slow change. The practices are attention, confession, respect, partnering, and truthing. Annan tells us, "The five practices in this book can help you find the freedom to handle *what you can* and *what you're called to*—and then handle this *well*—as we respond faithfully to risks and opportunities around us" (11).

Attention is the art of focusing, giving ourselves opportunity to really see and grasp what is happening, and what should be happening. It does not happen quickly or easily.

Confession is the admission that we are often complicit, in little-understood ways, in the problem, particularly when we do not admit our own ignorance, our own lack of real understanding of the problem or issue. Confession involves admitting our mixed motives and the unavoidable sinfulness (humanness) of any of our responses. Confession comes when we are willing to admit that the people we are attempting to help probably know more about the problem and solutions than we do.

Respect can only grow out of the practice of confession. Here we learn to see the inherent intelligence of the people we seek to help. Here we learn to work "for" and "with," even "under" them, rather than "at" them. The chapter on respect was, in my opinion, one of the most insightful. It emphasizes the need to slow down, so we can see and hear the problem, before rushing in with answers to questions that no one is asking, a common Western response. It talks of the need to learn the proper (local) manner of showing respect.

Partnering recognizes the common tendency for us to do more *for* a community, or *to* a community, when what is needed is to work *with* a community. This moves us beyond a "messiah" mentality, a common Western misconception. We pretend to have all the answers, even before the right questions have been asked. Annan takes the practice of partnership to new depths and breadths.

The chapter on truthing emphasizes the need for continuous evaluation and offers us excellent examples of both the need and the effective process. This is often the more difficult of the disciplines and involves openness to

criticism. One of my students wrote to me that his project had collapsed in failure. He was moving on. I insisted that he had not failed if there were lessons to be learned and shared. I insisted that he return to the project and do a thorough analysis of why it had failed and write it up for the benefit of others. This, too, is part of truthing.

Ethicists and practitioners of social justice, socially involved pastors, workers and volunteers in relief and development, and even average persons who want to make a difference in the world, will find this a rewarding read.

Berrien Springs, Michigan

BRUCE CAMPBELL MOYER

Gitin, Seymour, ed. *The Ancient Pottery of Israel and Its Neighbors from the Iron Age through the Hellenistic Period*. 2 vols. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2015. 794 pp. Hardcover. USD 240.00.

This two-volume set is the long-gestated replacement for Ruth Amiran's seminal work *The Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land*. In the preface and editor's notes, Seymour Gitin lays out the rules for the "new 'ceramic bible'" and the history of its creation (1). He mentions that there are volumes dealing with the Neolithic Period through the Late Bronze Age that are in preparation. Gitin discusses the gargantuan effort undertaken in collecting pottery drawings from hundreds of new excavations that have been carried out in the fifty years since Amiran's volume. Over 6,000 pottery drawings are included in these two volumes and each had to be redrawn for consistency, a truly monumental task. Volume One goes from the Iron Age I through the Late Iron Age IIC, covering each of the different regions on either side of the Jordan River. Volume Two looks at imports from the Mediterranean world and the pottery of the Persian and Hellenistic Periods. Two choices were made here, the first geographical/cultural and the second chronological. In terms of geography, the area being discussed was divided into eight regions (Transjordan, the Negev, Philistia, Judah, Samaria, Jezreel Valley, Northern Coastal Plain, and Galilee). The rationale for this specific division was never explained. In terms of chronology, despite (or perhaps because of) disagreement between authors, Gitin chose to use the "traditional dating published in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land, Vols. 1-5*." I understand the reason for doing this and having some kind of consistency between the chapters was necessary.

Following the introductory section, the first volume contains the following chapters. Iron Age I: Northern Coastal Plain, Galilee, Samaria, Jezreel Valley, Judah, and Negev (Amihai Mazar); Iron Age I: Philistia (Trude Dothan and Alexander Zukerman); Iron Age I: Transjordan (Larry G. Herr); Iron Age IIA-B: Northern Coastal Plain (Gunnar Lehmann); Iron Age IIA-B: Northern Valleys and Upper Galilee (Amnon Ben-Tor and Anabel Zarzecki-Peleg); Iron Age IIA-B: Samaria (Ron E. Tappy); Iron Age IIA-B: Judah and the Negev (Ze'ev Herzog and Lily Singer-Avitz); Iron Age IIA-B: Philistia (Seymour Gitin); Iron Age IIA-B: Transjordan (Larry G. Herr); Iron Age IIC: Northern Coast, Carmel Coast, Galilee, and Jezreel Valley (Ayelet Gilboa); Iron Age IIC: Samaria (Ron E. Tappy); Iron Age IIC: Judah

temporal categories into spatial categories (326)? Or the “routinization of charisma”—the institutionalization features of the Pastorals?

The foregoing questions Sampley’s book raises for readers should not be viewed as shortcomings, but illustrative of the book’s potential benefit for all who desire to understand Paul’s moral reasoning. The book is focused upon the Pauline corpus and not inclined to interpret Paul through a particular perspective (e.g., Lutheran, Catholic, Jewish, New Perspective, post-New Perspective, etc.). It is clearly written and reflects Sampley’s appreciation and lifelong study of the apostle Paul. It thoroughly engages the “heart of Paul’s purposes in all his letters” (xii) and will doubtless be “an elixir or potion for anyone who is interested in making spiritual and moral progress in their lives” (x).

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Sessoms, Rick, with Tim Brannagan. *Leading with Story: Cultivating Christ-centered Leaders in a Storycentric Generation*. Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2016. xxiv + 246 pp. Softcover. USD 14.39.

Rick Sessoms appears to be a widely-travelled author with an impressive website (www.freedomtolead.net). The subtitle of the book is *Cultivating Christ-Centered Leaders in a Storycentric Generation*. The book addresses the needs of leadership development in oral or, as he puts it, “storycentric” cultures. The reality is that this pertains to the majority of the world, increasingly so in the West, where more and more people are screen-oriented rather than book-oriented. The objective of his organization, Freedom to Lead, is to “bridge the gap between character formation and ministry development” (214).

It is not a simple task to impress such a literate audience as the readers of this journal with the realities of the majority-world, where learning is accomplished through story, poetry, art, and song rather than by reading books and articles. The reality is that a significant number of students in the Seminary where I taught come from storycentric cultures, where they are accustomed to learning in a very different format than formal classes with lectures. Another striking reality is that we are training pastors and leaders to work in an increasingly storycentric world, even in the West, Europe, and North America. Such is the new migratory world in which we now live.

The importance of this may be seen in the recent national elections in the United States. Traditionally, politics were (assumed to be) rational and information-fed. We now are adjusting to a political scene that appeals far more to the emotions, fears, and feelings. People vote how they “feel” more than what they “read,” in spite of the irrationality. For Christians, this may suggest why the charismatics and Pentecostal churches are so rapidly expanding, while the more staid, formal religious bodies shrink.

The Bible was first given to a storycentric people. Much of it is in story form. Notice the importance given to songs, of Moses, of Miriam, of Deborah, the Psalms, the song of the vineyard in Isaiah. The teachings of Jesus largely took the form of stories. The fact that we call them “parables” does not make

his teaching less storycentric. In Judaism, the *Seder* is an annual retelling of the story of the Jewish people, reinforced with food, songs, and table fellowship.

The first part of this book (chapters one to three) wonderfully alerts the reader to the importance of relating to a storycentric culture. For seminary teachers, this is an important reminder to be sensitive to the majority-world students in their classes, and to the need to speak, effectively, to post-modern congregations through their students. The first three chapters, in themselves, are worth the price of the book.

Unfortunately, the book seems poorly structured. Chapters four through twelve move into the area of leadership development, with a strong emphasis on character development, with only occasional references back to the storycentric culture that was the focus of the first three chapters.

The bulk of parts two and three contain numerous illustrations, and perhaps this is Sessoms's nod to the importance of story. The author does give appropriate emphasis to the need for culturally appropriate leadership, which is important in our multi-cultural society and multi-cultural churches. A leader or pastor who understands that leadership can be different in different cultures is better prepared for his or her leadership role.

Sessoms gives excellent insight into the need for mentoring, as well as on-the-job training. He also stresses the need to treat people at the level of their potential, enabling and empowering nascent leaders.

One of the strong points of the book is the inclusion of a numbered summary at the end of each chapter. Actually, reading these before the chapter alerts one to the author's major points of emphasis.

In critique, I sometimes found Sessoms's stories and illustrations sufficiently vague to leave me wondering at their authenticity. They seem too "pat" to be genuine. Otherwise, he is very familiar with leadership, leadership training, and the minefields of culture.

The final chapter, "The Garden Project," is a very practical, very helpful recapping of the book. He does this by using his ministry, Freedom to Lead, as a model of what can and should be done. It ends with a very well done "Lessons Learned" section that pulls the rest of the book together.

Who should read this book? Missionaries and professors of missions are a major target of the book. They are on the front lines of cultural differences. However, in our migratory world, with its emphasis on multiculturalism, pastors and professors of leadership will also benefit greatly from this small volume. Homileticians would also receive benefit from this reminder of how important story, poetry, art, and song are in changing people's worldviews and cementing new insights into malleable minds.

Berrien Springs, Michigan

BRUCE CAMPBELL MOYER

Smith-Christopher, Daniel L. *Micab: A Commentary*. OTL. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2015. xxxiii + 268 pp. Hardcover. USD 50.00.

Outside of the United Nations building in New York stands a tall bronze sculpture made by the Russian artist Yevgeny Vuchetich that was presented to

his teaching less storycentric. In Judaism, the *Seder* is an annual retelling of the story of the Jewish people, reinforced with food, songs, and table fellowship.

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Outside of the United Nations building in New York stands a tall bronze sculpture made by the Russian artist Yevgeny Vuchetich that was presented to

the United Nations in 1959. The sculpture depicts the figure of a man holding a hammer aloft in one hand and a sword in the other, which he is making into a plowshare. The sculptor meant it to symbolize humanity's desire to put an end to war, and to convert the means of destruction into creative tools for the benefit of all. The title of the sculpture, "Let Us Beat Swords into Plowshares" is based on Micah 4:3. Smith-Christopher, who teaches Theological Studies and directs Peace Studies at Loyola Marymount University, believes that Micah's book contains timely principles and messages that speak to people of all times including our own today.

Among the Twelve Prophets, Micah is placed between an optimistically "universalist message of Jonah, which holds out a hope of transformation for even an enemy city like Nineveh," and Nahum's pessimistic condemnation of Nineveh and Assyria. Taken together, "the book of the Twelve speaks to different times rather than different attitudes" (40). The author accepts B. Zapff's suggestion that "The book of Micah, as it now appears in the canon, features a dialogue with the books that surround it; Jonah and Nahum. For those nations willing to repent as illustrated in Jonah, God is ready to forgive (e.g., Mic 4:1–5). But for those unwilling and intransigent, the fate discussed in Nahum awaits them, as illustrated here in 5:15 (14)!" (187).

Smith-Cristopher calls Micah the "farmer-prophet" (152) who is familiar with village life, just like Isaiah is with the city (218). In Micah's book, he says the reader can sense "the commentator's love of village farming life" (207). The author assumes that Micah was a local elder who grew "weary of the constant military build-up" that exploited the commodities and family members of village farmers whose antiwar sentiments could be summed up in the cry: "Farms, Not Arms!" (25–26). Thus, Micah's book "should be read as the work of an 'elder' from a small agricultural village, whose words were taken as 'prophetic,' but whose actual identity may not have been very similar to those ancient figures known as 'prophets' in ancient Israelite society." In short, Micah preached against "the war policies of the Jerusalem elite" that were economically disastrous for "his fellow villagers, who often bore the brunt of military reprisals" (1). The prophet was "deeply concerned about endless warfare and the human economic costs of these constant battles and preparations for battle" (18).

"Peace is *God's* intended status for humanity" (133). This truth is best portrayed in the famous Vision of World Peace (4:1–5) that is "possibly the most dramatic antiwar sentiment expressed in the entire Hebrew Bible" (139). This "peace vision" (142) begins with the words "In the latter days," which do not mean "this will never happen," but rather as "the ideal of God that will come, we hope, sooner than later" (26). The tendency in commentary literature, says the author, has been to cast this passage safely into the distant future so that it has little ethical force in the present. He agrees with F. Anderson and D. Freedman that the vision "marks the time of fulfilment of the Creator's intentions and purposes for the world." It is a vision of what God intends for the world, "a real hope or even a moral statement that could guide contemporary action" (130).

Smith-Christopher also deals with the contrasting relationship between the former Jerusalem that will be plowed under, according to 3:12, and the new “Zion” that will become “an international (and agrarian!) center for peacemaking” (132). He readily challenges “the widely held view that Mic 3:12 is radically incompatible with ‘streaming to Zion’ and beating swords into plowshares in 4:1–5.” He takes a radically different approach to 3:12 when he says that “Jerusalem will be plowed and we want to pound our swords into the very plowshares that will help do the job!” This is based on the author’s view that Micah was “a populist antiwar lowlander, angry at Jerusalem’s militant nationalist Theology” (96). The author points to the figure of eternal ruler from 5:2 that is modeled on “pre-monarchic David who was a shepherd,” rather than a warrior. This ruler is the only person capable of bringing a lasting peace (the name “Solomon” is related to *shalom* “peace”) to our troubled world (166–167).

The author’s conclusion on the topic is best summarized in the radical proposition found on page 92: To critique political, military, or economic policy, “one begins by critiquing the theological foundation that the policy is built upon. This is certainly an enduring message that too often goes unheeded, especially in Western tradition.” He adds that official war reports often omit the horrendous suffering of soldiers and civilians. “Micah denounces the lies of war in his time and in our own” (94). From the very beginning of the commentary, Smith-Christopher stresses that “Biblical scholarship no longer ignores the social contexts of both readers and texts” and is therefore “justifiably suspicious of allegedly ‘objective’ readings of ancient history” (2).

There is little doubt that, in this commentary, the author uses the text from Micah to make the strongest possible case for peace. Looking at our world today, we cannot dispute the fact that peace is still a rare commodity in our societies and in the world at large. This is the reason why Smith-Christopher’s statements about peace should not be dismissed nor ignored by the believers today. Some readers will feel that the author’s approach is, at times, too humanistic at the exclusion of a direct Divine intervention in history. Peace making is not only an ambition owned by peace-loving believers, but it is also a quality grounded in God’s supernatural initiative. A sound balance between the divine and the human elements in salvation history has always been at the heart of the biblical witness. And it should remain as such!

Adventist University of Health Sciences
Orlando, FL

ZDRAVKO STEFANOVIC

Williams, Michael. *The Biblical Hebrew Companion for Bible Software Users: Grammatical Terms Explained for Exegesis*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2015. 144 pp. Softcover. USD 18.99.

Bible software has greatly facilitated and enhanced the study of Scripture in the original languages. For new users, however, the software itself and its terminology may be a challenge. In addition, without some basic knowledge of biblical Hebrew, the software remains very limited. Michael Williams,

Smith-Christopher also deals with the contrasting relationship between the former Jerusalem that will be plowed under, according to 3:12, and the new “Zion” that will become “an international (and agrarian!) center for peacemaking” (132). He readily challenges “the widely held view that Mic 3:12 is radically incompatible with ‘streaming to Zion’ and beating swords into plowshares in 4:1–5.” He takes a radically different approach to 3:12 when he says that “Jerusalem will be plowed and we want to pound our swords into the very plowshares that will help do the job!” This is based on the author’s view that Micah was “a populist antiwar lowlander, angry at Jerusalem’s militant nationalist Theology” (96). The author points to the figure of eternal ruler from 5:2 that is modeled on “pre-monarchic David who was a shepherd,” rather than a warrior. This ruler is the only person capable of bringing a lasting peace (the name “Solomon” is related to *shalom* “peace”) to our troubled world (166–167).

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Bible software has greatly facilitated and enhanced the study of Scripture in the original languages. For new users, however, the software itself and its terminology may be a challenge. In addition, without some basic knowledge of biblical Hebrew, the software remains very limited. Michael Williams,

professor of Old Testament at Calvin Theological Seminary and a member of the NIV Committee on Bible Translation, has written *The Biblical Hebrew Companion for Bible Software Users* to assist new software users and novice biblical Hebrew students to access the Old Testament in the original language through the three most popular Bible software platforms: Accordance, BibleWorks, and Logos. Williams's goal is to fill the gap between two extreme approaches to learning biblical languages: "the traditional, full-blown academic study of biblical Hebrew on the one hand" and sole focus on Bible software on the other (6).

The Biblical Hebrew Companion covers general grammatical terms (adjective, adverb, common, conjunction, definite article, demonstrative adjective, feminine, interjection, interrogative, masculine, negative particle, noun, number [cardinal and ordinal], particle, person, plural, preposition, pronoun [independent, relative, and suffix], singular, and verb); Hebrew grammatical terms (absolute, apocopated, construct, directional ך ending [locative ך], direct object marker, dual, energetic ך, *ketib-qere*, paragogic ך, paragogic ך, root, stem, and ך consecutive); Hebrew conjugations (Perfect, Imperfect, Cohortative, Imperative, Jussive, Infinitive Construct, Infinitive Absolute, and Participle [active and passive]); and basic Hebrew stems (*qal, nifal, piel, pual, hiphil, hophal, hitpael*), as well as some less common ones (e.g., *hishtaphel*). All these terms are organized alphabetically which enables readers to use the book as a quick reference.

Each term explained in the book takes two pages of exposition so that users can "see all the information for each term at once, without the need to turn a page" (6). On the left side, readers will find the section "What It Looks Like" and "What It Does." The first one shows how the grammatical feature can be recognized in the biblical text, while the latter provides an explanation of its function. On the right side, readers will find "An Exegetical Insight," which gives "an example . . . afforded by an understanding of the grammatical feature that is not available or is not clear in the English translations" (6). All terms used in the main body of the book follow this methodology. The result is a reference book which is easy to access and visually appealing.

After the fifty-four terms are explained in the main body, *The Biblical Hebrew Companion* provides eight convenient appendices to explain the Hebrew consonants (printed form, name, sound, and transliteration), Hebrew vowels (category, length, form, name, sound, and transliteration), guttural consonants (descriptions, rules, and illustrations), syllables (open, closed, and examples), *shevas* (vocal, silent, and compound), *dageshes* (*forte, lena*, and rules), the effect of the accent on vowels, and how to pronounce Hebrew words. These are followed by a "Scripture Index" and a "Select Bibliography for Further Study" (beginning Hebrew grammars, grammatical helps, Hebrew text resources, and leading Bible software resources).

Williams's new volume is helpful in several ways. Besides the ease of access, the book also stands out for the simple and straightforward language it uses in its explanations. For instance, in explaining apocopation, Williams states, "[a]n apocopated *verb* looks like an *Imperfect* verb that has been

shortened. . . . The only kind of verb that is susceptible to this shortening is one whose third *root consonant* is a ה" (16). In addition, the book tends to group several words or features which are usually taught separately. For instance, Williams gives several negative particles (אֵל, בֵּל, בִּלְתִּי, לֹא [68–69]) at once, which is very advantageous. Other features that are shown at once include: feminine endings (40), noun endings (72), independent pronouns (98), and suffix pronouns (102). Moreover, the book clarifies issues that are usually confusing for beginners, such as the ו consecutive. Williams deals with that upfront, “[t]here are two kinds of Waw Consecutives in Hebrew, one for the *Perfect Conjugation* and one for the *Imperfect conjugation*.” Then he goes on to demonstrate each one of them (116). Though contemporary Hebraists may dispute this differentiation, Williams’s explanation of the traditional position is useful and clear. Interestingly, in a few instances, such as when describing Hitpael, Williams’s volume is more thorough than some standard biblical Hebrew textbooks which describe the stem as mainly reflexive. Williams gives three nuances for it: reflexive, reciprocal, and iterative (46–47). These characteristics make Williams’s book more inviting to new students than most Hebrew textbooks.

As far as suggestions for a future revised or expanded edition, I would like to mention the following issues. First, show not only the masculine plural forms, but all the absolute and construct forms (10). Second, be more specific in explaining the definite article variations (*pataq* and no *dagesh* before ה" and ך"; *qamets* before א, ע, and ך"; *segol* before ה, ך, and ץ followed by *qamets*) (28). Third, include “Yiqtol,” which may be more common than “YQTL” (52). Fourth, add other sounds that are affected by *dagesh lene* (133)—at least, the two other most significant ones (כ/כׁ and פ/פׁ); perhaps a small chart also could be included. Fifth, rephrase the statement, “There is no way to recognize the true grammatical gender of these nouns apart from the lexical assistance available in Bible software programs or other Hebrew language resources” (72). Such affirmation may be true for nouns that stand by themselves. However, when modified by adjectives, the reader can predict the actual gender of the noun because the gender and number of adjectives match those of the nouns they modify (adjectives never lie). For instance, notice “the large stones” in Deut 27:2 (אֲבָנִים גְּדֹלוֹת). The adjective “large” is feminine plural in Hebrew. Thus, the reader can predict that “stones” is also feminine plural in spite of being written with a masculine plural ending. The same pattern can be observed elsewhere (cf. good figs [תְּאֵנִים טְבוֹת] and bad figs [תְּאֵנִים רְעוֹת] in Jer 24:2).

The Biblical Hebrew Companion for Bible Software Users is a helpful volume to address the basic needs of new software users and beginning students of biblical Hebrew. It fills a void in the literature as it attempts to bring together language and software-related terms and concepts. Even though the book does not claim to be a grammar book, it provides useful grammatical tips to first- and second-semester Hebrew students. Teachers can assign it as part of their required books as a quick reference to their students. Instructors will also find it beneficial as it provides exegetical insights and good examples to illustrate the grammar they present. In addition, the book is intended for

individuals who do not know the basics of the original language, “but would still like to benefit from the deeper insights into the biblical text that biblical Hebrew can provide” (7). It will also be valuable to pastors, church leaders, and seminary students in general. I commend Williams for his contribution.

Berrien Springs, Michigan

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